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## Old South Leaflets.

# How The United States Grew.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK

OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE, BOSTON

1902.



THE  
OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

TWENTIETH SERIES.

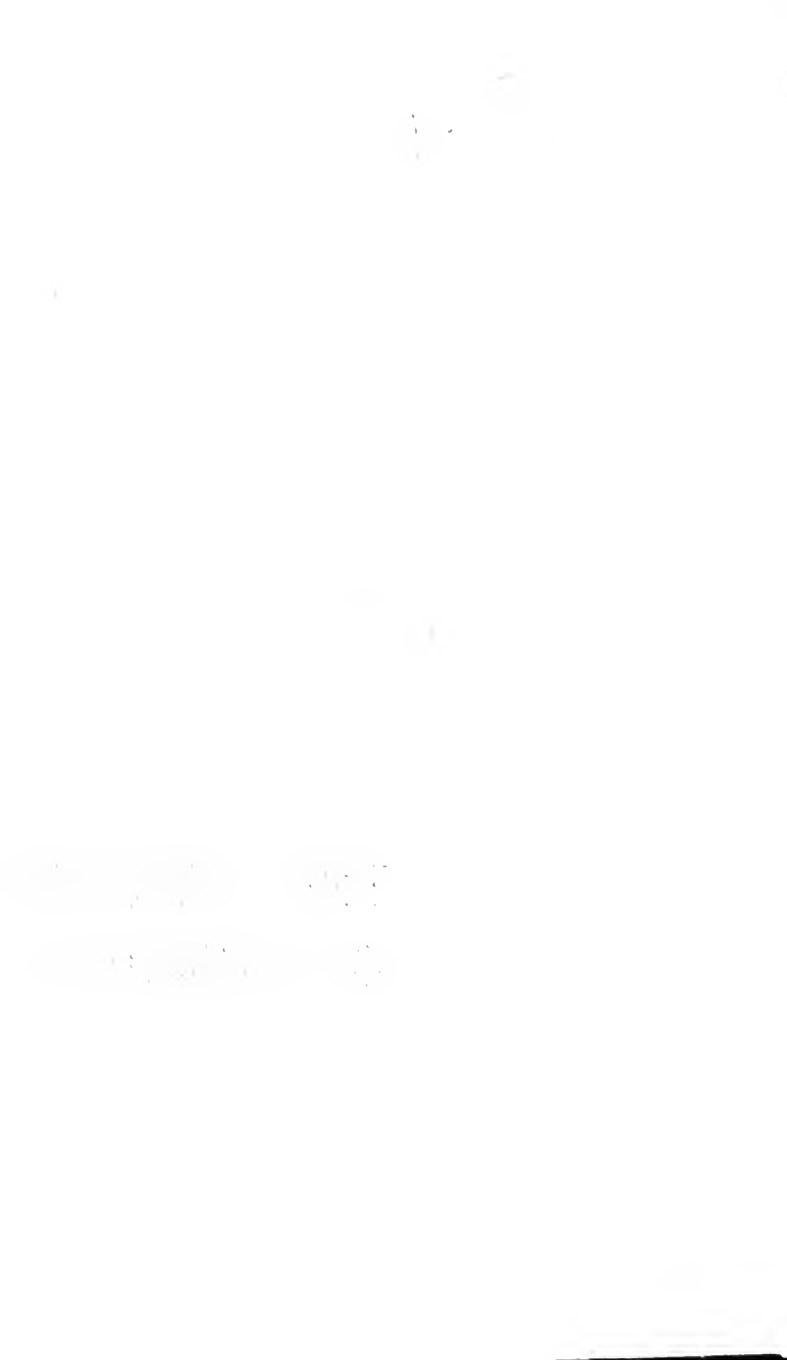
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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS were prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be sustained in many other cities of the country.

The Old South Lectures for 1883, intended to be strictly upon subjects in early Massachusetts History, but by certain necessities somewhat modified, were as follows: "Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Plymouth," by MRS. A. M. DIAZ. "Concord," by FRANK B. SANBORN. "The Town-meeting," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Franklin, the Boston Boy," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "How to study American History," by PROF. G. STANLEY HALL. "The Year 1777," by JOHN FISKE. "History in the Boston Streets," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared in connection with these lectures consisted of (1) Cotton Mather's account of Governor Bradford, from the "Magnalia"; (2) the account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod from Bradford's Journal; (3) an extract from Emerson's Concord Address in 1835; (4) extracts from Emerson, Samuel Adams, De Tocqueville, and others, upon the Town-meeting; (5) a portion of Franklin's Autobiography; (6) Carlyle on the Study of History; (7) an extract from Charles Sumner's oration upon Lafayette, etc.; (8) Emerson's poem, "Boston."

The lectures for 1884 were devoted to men representative of certain epochs or ideas in the history of Boston, as follows: "Sir Harry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D. "The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for the Charter," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "Samuel Adams and the Beginning of the Revolution," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by CHARLES W. SLACK. "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "John A. Andrew, the great War Governor," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. The Leaflets prepared in connection with the second course were as follows: (1) Selections from Forster's essay on Vane, etc.; (2) an extract from Cotton Mather's "Sal Gentium"; (3) Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England"; (4) an original account of "The Revolution in New England" in 1689; (5) a letter from Samuel Adams to John

Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.

The lectures for 1885 were upon "The War for the Union," as follows: "Slavery," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR. "The Fall of Sumter," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. "The Monitor and the Merrimac," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "The Battle of Gettysburg," by COL. THEODORE A. DODGE. "Sherman's March to the Sea," by GEN. WILLIAM COGSWELL. "The Sanitary Commission," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Abraham Lincoln," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "General Grant," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. The Leaflets accompanying these lectures were as follows: (1) Lowell's "Present Crisis," and Garrison's Salutory in the *Liberator* of January 1, 1831; (2) extract from Henry Ward Beecher's oration at Fort Sumter in 1865; (3) contemporary newspaper accounts of the engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimac; (4) extract from Edward Everett's address at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, with President Lincoln's address; (5) extract from General Sherman's account of the March to the Sea, in his Memoirs; (6) Lowell's "Commemoration Ode"; (7) extract from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Second Inaugural Address; (8) account of the service in memory of General Grant, in Westminster Abbey, with Archdeacon Farrar's address.

The lectures for 1886 were upon "The War for Independence," as follows: "Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Bunker Hill, and the News in England," by JOHN FISKE. "The Declaration of Independence," by JAMES MACALLISTER. "The Times that tried Men's Souls," by ALBERT B. HART, PH.D. "Lafayette, and Help from France," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Women of the Revolution," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Washington and his Generals," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Lessons of the Revolution for these Times," by REV. BROOKE HERFORD. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Words of Patrick Henry; (2) Lord Chatham's Speech, urging the removal of the British troops from Boston; (3) extract from Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson; (4) Thomas Paine's "Crisis," No. 1; (5) extract from Edward Everett's eulogy on Lafayette; (6) selections from the Letters of Abigail Adams; (7) Lowell's "Under the Old Elm"; (8) extract from Whipple's essay on "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

The course for the summer of 1887 was upon "The Birth of the Nation," as follows: "How the men of the English Commonwealth planned Constitutions," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "How the American Colonies grew together," by JOHN FISKE. "The Confusion after the Revolution," by DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D. "The Convention and the Constitution," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "James Madison and his Journal," by PROF. E. B. ANDREWS. "How Patrick Henry opposed the Constitution," by HENRY L. SOUTHWICK. "Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist*," "Washington's Part and the Nation's First Years," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared for these lectures were as follows: (1) Extract from Edward Everett Hale's lecture on "Puritan Politics in England and New England"; (2) "The English Colonies in America," extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"; (3) Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States on Disbanding the Army; (4) the Constitution of the United States; (5) "The Last Day of the Constitutional Convention," from Madison's Journal; (6) Patrick

Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) the *Federalist*, No. IX.; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.

The course for the summer of 1888 had the general title of "The Story of the Centuries," the several lectures being as follows: "The Great Schools after the Dark Ages," by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of History in Harvard University. "Richard the Lion-hearted and the Crusades," by MISS NINA MOORE, author of "Pilgrims and Puritans." "The World which Dante knew," by SHATTUCK O. HARTWELL, Old South first prize essayist, 1883. "The Morning Star of the Reformation," by REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM. "Copernicus and Columbus, or the New Heaven and the New Earth," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote," by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. "The Puritans and the English Revolution," by CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Professor of History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Lafayette and the Two Revolutions which he saw," by GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But it is a constant aim to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889, and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful.—11th Century: Lanfranc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died 1089. 12th Cent.: Richard I. crowned 1189. 13th Cent.: Dante, at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, 1289. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, 1384. 15th Cent.: America discovered, 1492. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, 1588. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, 1688. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastille fell, 1789. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's "History of the English People,"; (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vinsauf; (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia*; (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation; (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's "Cosmos"; (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's "Annals"; (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689; (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by REV.

W. E. GRIFFIS. "The Jesuit Missionaries in America," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Wolfe and Montcalm: The Struggle of England and France for the Continent," by JOHN FISKE. "Franklin in France," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette," by MRS. ABBA GOULD WOOLSON. "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase," by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Old South prize essayist, 1888. "The Year 1789," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets for the year were as follows: (1) Verrazzano's account of his Voyage to America; (2) Marquette's account of his Discovery of the Mississippi; (3) Mr. Parkman's Histories; (4) the Capture of Quebec, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; (5) selections from Franklin's Letters from France; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) the Declaration of Independence; (8) the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.

The lectures for the summer of 1890 were on "The American Indians," as follows: "The Mound Builders," by PROF. GEORGE H. PERKINS. "The Indians whom our Fathers Found," by GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON. "John Eliot and his Indian Bible," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER. "King Philip's War," by MISS CAROLINE C. STECKER, Old South prize essayist, 1889. "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," by CHARLES A. EASTMAN, M.D., of the Sioux nation. "A Century of Dishonor," by HERBERT WELSH. "Among the Zuñis," by J. WALTER FEWKES, PH.D. "The Indian at School," by GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) extract from address by William Henry Harrison on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley; (2) extract from Morton's "New English Canaan" on the Manners and Customs of the Indians; (3) John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," 1670; (4) extract from Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (1677) on the Beginning of King Philip's War; (5) the Speech of Pontiac at the Council at the River Ecorces, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac"; (6) extract from Black Hawk's autobiography, on the cause of the Black Hawk War; (7) Coronado's Letter to Mendoza (1540) on his Explorations in New Mexico; (8) Eleazar Wheelock's Narrative (1762) of the Rise and Progress of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn.

The lectures for 1891, under the general title of "The New Birth of the World," were devoted to the important movements in the age preceding the discovery of America, the several lectures being as follows: "The Results of the Crusades," by F. E. E. HAMILTON, Old South prize essayist, 1883. "The Revival of Learning," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART. "The Builders of the Cathedrals," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Changes which Gunpowder made," by FRANK A. HILL. "The Decline of the Barons," by WILLIAM EVERETT. "The Invention of Printing," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER. "When Michel Angelo was a Boy," by HAMLIN GARLAND. "The Discovery of America," by REV. E. E. HALE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) "The Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders," from the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury; (2) extract from More's "Utopia"; (3) "The Founding of Westminster Abbey," from Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey"; (4) "The Siege of Constantinople," from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire"; (5) "Simon de Montfort," selections from Chronicles of the time; (6) "Caxton at Westminster," extract from Blade's Life of William Caxton; (7) "The Youth of Michel Angelo," from Vasari's "Lives of the Italian Painters"; (8) "The Discovery of America," from Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father.



The lectures for 1892 were upon "The Discovery of America," as follows: "What Men knew of the World before Columbus," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "Leif Erikson and the Northmen," by REV. EDWARD A. HORTON. "Marco Polo and his Book," by MR. O. W. DIMMICK. "The Story of Columbus," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Americus Vesputius and the Early Books about America," by REV. E. G. PORTER. "Cortes and Pizarro," by PROF. CHAS. H. LIVERMORE. "De Soto and Ponce de Leon," by MISS RUTH BALLOU WHITTEMORE, Old South prize essayist, 1891. "Spain, France, and England in America," by MR. JOHN FISKE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Strabo's Introduction to Geography; (2) The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red; (3) Marco Polo's account of Japan and Java; (4) Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing his First Voyage; (5) Amerigo Vespucci's account of his First Voyage; (6) Cortes's account of the City of Mexico; (7) the Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas"; (8) Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots.

The lectures for 1893 were upon "The Opening of the Great West," as follows: "Spain and France in the Great West," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. "The North-west Territory and the Ordinance of 1787," by JOHN M. MERRIAM. "Washington's Work in Opening the West," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Marietta and the Western Reserve," by MISS LUCY W. WARREN, Old South prize essayist, 1892. "How the Great West was settled," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "Lewis and Clarke and the Explorers of the Rocky Mountains," by REV. THOMAS VAN NESS. "California and Oregon," by PROF. JOSIAH ROYCE. "The Story of Chicago," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) De Vaca's account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535; (2) Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787; (3) Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770; (4) Garfield's Address on the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve; (5) George Rogers Clark's account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779; (6) Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis; (7) Fremont's account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak; (8) Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673.

The lectures for 1894 were upon "The Founders of New England," as follows: "William Brewster, the Elder of Plymouth," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. "William Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. "John Winthrop, the Governor of Massachusetts," by HON. FREDERIC T. GREENHALGE. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by MR. WILLIAM R. THAYER. "John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians," by REV. JAMES DE NORMANDIE. "John Cotton, the Minister of Boston," by REV. JOHN COTTON BROOKS. "Roger Williams, the Founder of Rhode Island," by PRESIDENT E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS. "Thomas Hooker, the Founder of Connecticut," by REV. JOSEPH H. TWICHELL. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster; (2) Bradford's First Dialogue; (3) Winthrop's Conclusions for the Plantation in New England; (4) New England's First Fruits, 1643; (5) John Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun; (6) John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation"; (7) Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop; (8) Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England."

The lectures for 1895 were upon "The Puritans in Old England," as follows: "John Hooper, the First Puritan," by EDWIN D. MEAD; "Cambridge, the Puritan University," by WILLIAM EVERETT; "Sir John Eliot

and the House of Commons," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "John Hampden and the Ship Money," by REV. F. W. GUNSAULUS; "John Pym and the Grand Remonstrance," by REV. JOHN CUCKSON; "Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "John Milton, the Puritan Poet," by JOHN FISKE; "Henry Vane in Old England and New England," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) The English Bible, selections from the various versions; (2) Hooper's Letters to Bullinger; (3) Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Soc-rates"; (4) Ship-money Papers; (5) Pym's Speech against Strafford; (6) Cromwell's Second Speech; (7) Milton's "Free Commonwealth"; (8) Sir Henry Vane's Defence.

The lectures for 1896 were upon "The American Historians," as follows: "Bradford and Winthrop and their Journals," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "Cotton Mather and his 'Magnalia,'" by PROF. BARRETT WENDELL; "Governor Hutchinson and his History of Massachusetts," by PROF. CHARLES H. LEVERMORE; "Washington Irving and his Services for American History," by MR. RICHARD BURTON; "Bancroft and his History of the United States," by PRES. AUSTIN SCOTT; "Prescott and his Spanish Histories," by HON. ROGER WOLCOTT; "Motley and his History of the Dutch Republic," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "Parkman and his Works on France in America," by MR. JOHN FISKE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty; (2) Cotton Mather's "Bostonian Ebenezer," from the "Magnalia"; (3) Governor Hutchinson's account of the Boston Tea Party; (4) Adrian Van der Donck's Description of the New Netherlands in 1655; (5) The Debate in the Constitutional Convention on the Rules of Suffrage in Congress; (6) Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his Second Voyage; (7) The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581; (8) Captain John Knox's account of the Battle of Quebec. The last five of these eight Leaflets illustrate the original material in which Irving, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman worked in the preparation of their histories.

The lectures for 1897 were upon "The Anti-slavery Struggle," as follows: "William Lloyd Garrison, or Anti-slavery in the Newspaper," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR.; "Wendell Phillips, or Anti-slavery on the Platform," by WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD; "Theodore Parker, or Anti-slavery in the Pulpit," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "John G. Whittier, or Anti-slavery in the Poem," by MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER; "Harriet Beecher Stowe, or Anti-slavery in the Story," by MISS MARIA L. BALDWIN; "Charles Sumner, or Anti-slavery in the Senate," by MOORFIELD STOREY; "John Brown, or Anti-slavery on the Scaffold," by FRANK B. SANBORN; "Abraham Lincoln, or Anti-slavery Triumphant," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) The First Number of *The Liberator*; (2) Wendell Phillips's Eulogy of Garrison; (3) Theodore Parker's Address on the Dangers from Slavery; (4) Whittier's account of the Anti-slavery Convention of 1833; (5) Mrs. Stowe's Story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; (6) Sumner's Speech on the Crime against Kansas; (7) Words of John Brown; (8) The First Lincoln and Douglas Debate.

The lectures for 1898 were upon "The Old World in the New," as follows: "What Spain has done for America," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "What Italy has done for America," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "What France has done for America," by PROF. JEAN CHARLE-

MAGNE BRACQ; "What England has done for America," by MISS KATHARINE COMAN; "What Ireland has done for America," by PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN; "What Holland has done for America," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "What Germany has done for America," by MISS ANNA B. THOMPSON; "What Scandinavia has done for America," by MR. JOSEPH P. WARREN. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Account of the Founding of St. Augustine, by Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales; (2) Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his Third Voyage; (3) Champlain's Account of the Founding of Quebec; (4) Barlowe's Account of the First Voyage to Roanoke; (5) Parker's Account of the Settlement of Londonderry, N.H.; (6) Juet's Account of the Discovery of the Hudson River; (7) Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania, 1700; (8) Acrelius's Account of the Founding of New Sweden.

The lectures for 1899 were upon "The Life and Influence of Washington," as follows: "Washington in the Revolution," by MR. JOHN FISKE; "Washington and the Constitution," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "Washington as President of the United States," by REV. ALBERT E. WINSHIP; "Washington the True Expander of the Republic," by MR. EDWIN D. MEAD; "Washington's Interest in Education," by HON. ALFRED S. ROE; "The Men who worked with Washington," by MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER; "Washington's Farewell Address," by REV. FRANKLIN HAMILTON; "What the World has thought and said of Washington," by PROF. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge in 1775; (2) Washington's Letters on the Constitution; (3) Washington's Inaugurals; (4) Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison in 1784; (5) Washington's Words on a National University; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) Washington's Farewell Address; (8) Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington.

The lectures for 1900 were upon "The United States in the Nineteenth Century," as follows: "Thomas Jefferson, the First Nineteenth-century President," by EDWIN D. MEAD; "The Opening of the Great West," by REV. WILLIAM E. BARTON; "Webster and Calhoun, or the Nation and the States," by PROF. S. M. MACVANE; "Abraham Lincoln and the Struggle with Slavery," by REV. CHARLES G. AMES; "Steam and Electricity, from Fulton to Edison," by PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN; "The Progress of Education in the Nineteenth Century," by MR. FRANK A. HILL; "The American Poets," by MRS. MAY ALDEN WARD; "America and the World," by HON. JOHN L. BATES. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Jefferson's Inaugurals; (2) Account of Louisiana in 1803; (3) Calhoun on the Government of the United States; (4) Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address; (5) Chancellor Livingston on the Invention of the Steamboat; (6) Horace Mann's Address on the Ground of the Free School System; (7) Rufus Choate's Address on the Romance of New England History; (8) Kossuth's First Speech in Faneuil Hall.

The lectures for 1901 were upon "The English Exploration of America," as follows: "John Cabot and the First English Expedition to America," by PROF. CHARLES H. LEVERMORE; "Hawkins and Drake in the West Indies," by MR. JOSEPH P. WARREN; "Martin Frobisher and the Search for the North-west Passage," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW; "Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his Expedition to Newfoundland," by MR. RAY GREENE HULING; "Sir Walter Raleigh and the Story of Roanoke," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE; "Bartholomew Gosnold and the Story of

Cuttyhunk," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "Captain John Smith in Virginia and New England," by HON. ALFRED S. ROE; "Richard Hakluyt and his Books about the English Explorers," by MR. MILAN C. AYRES. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) John Cabot's Discovery of North America; (2) Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California; (3) Frobisher's First Voyage; (4) Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Expedition to Newfoundland; (5) Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony; (6) Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk; (7) Captain John Smith's Description of New England; (8) Richard Hakluyt's Discourse on Western Planting.

The lectures for 1902 were upon "How the United States Grew," as follows: "The Old Thirteen Colonies," by HON. JOHN D. LONG; "George Rogers Clark and the North-west Territory," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "How Jefferson bought Louisiana from Napoleon," by REV. GEORGE HODGES; "The Story of Florida," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "The Lone Star State," by HON. JOHN L. BATES; "The Oregon Country," by REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT; "The Mexican War and What Came of It," by PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN; "Alaska in 1867 and 1902," by MR. GEORGE G. WOLKINS. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Brissot's Account of Boston in 1788; (2) The Ordinance of 1784; (3) The Cession of Louisiana; (4) Monroe's Messages on Florida; (5) Captain Potter's Account of the Fall of the Alamo; (6) Porter's Account of the Discovery of the Columbia River; (7) Sumner's Report on the War with Mexico; (8) Seward's Address on Alaska.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the years since 1883 in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting-house, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service that the Directors have entered upon the publication of the Leaflets for general circulation, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs, and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of twenty pages, and are sold at the low price of **five cents** a copy, or **four dollars per hundred**. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. The Old South Work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of these Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the numbers which are now ready. It will be noticed that most of the later numbers are the same as certain numbers in the annual series. Since 1890 they are essentially the same, and persons ordering the Leaflets need simply observe the following numbers.

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Con-

necticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio. 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. 18. The Constitution of Switzerland. 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. 24. The Grand Remonstrance. 25. The Scottish National Covenants. 26. The Agreement of the People. 27. The Instrument of Government. 28. Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament. 29. The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus, by his son, Ferdinand Columbus. 30. Strabo's Introduction to Geography. 31. The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. 32. Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java. 33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery. 34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage. 35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. 36. The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas." 37. Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots. 38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington. 39. De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535. 40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787. 41. Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770. 42. Garfield's Address on the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve. 43. George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779. 44. Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis. 45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak. 46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673. 47. Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge, 1775. 48. Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster. 49. Bradford's First Dialogue. 50. Winthrop's "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England." 51. "New England's First Fruits," 1643. 52. John Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun." 53. John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation." 54. Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop. 55. Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England." 56. The Monroe Doctrine: President Monroe's Message of 1823. 57. The English Bible, selections from the various versions. 58. Hooper's Letters to Bullinger. 59. Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Soc-rates." 60. Ship-money Papers. 61. Pym's Speech against Strafford. 62. Cromwell's Second Speech. 63. Milton's "A Free Commonwealth." 64. Sir Henry Vane's Defence. 65. Washington's Addresses to the Churches. 66. Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty. 67. Cotton Mather's "Bostonian Ebenezer," from the "Magnalia." 68. Governor Hutchinson's Account of the Boston Tea Party. 69. Adrian Van der Donck's Description of New Netherlands in 1655. 70. The Debate in the Constitutional Convention on the Rules of Suffrage in Congress. 71. Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his Second Voyage. 72. The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581. 73. Captain John Knox's Account of the Battle of Quebec. 74. Hamilton's Report on the Coinage. 75. William Penn's Plan for the Peace of Europe. 76. Washington's Words on a National University. 77. Cotton Mather's Lives of Bradford and Winthrop. 78. The First Number of *The Lib-erator*. 79. Wendell Phillips's Eulogy of Garrison. 80. Theodore Parker's Address on the Dangers from Slavery. 81. Whittier's Account of

the Anti-slavery Convention of 1833. **82.** Mrs. Stowe's Story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." **83.** Sumner's Speech on the Crime against Kansas. **84.** The Words of John Brown. **85.** The First Lincoln and Douglas Debate. **86.** Washington's Account of his Capture of Boston. **87.** The Manners and Customs of the Indians, from Morton's "New English Canaan." **88.** The Beginning of King Philip's War, from Hubbard's History of Philip's War, 1677. **89.** Account of the Founding of St. Augustine, by Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales. **90.** Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his Third Voyage. **91.** Champlain's Account of the Founding of Quebec. **92.** Barlowe's Account of the First Voyage to Roanoke. **93.** Parker's Account of the Settlement of Londonderry, N.H. **94.** Juet's Account of the Discovery of the Hudson River. **95.** Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania, 1700. **96.** Acrelius's Account of the Founding of New Sweden. **97.** Lafayette in the American Revolution. **98.** Letters of Washington and Lafayette. **99.** Washington's Letters on the Constitution. **100.** Robert Browne's "Reformation without Tarrying for Any." **101.** Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace." **102.** Columbus's Account of Cuba. **103.** John Adams's Inaugural. **104.** Jefferson's Inaugurals. **105.** Account of Louisiana in 1803. **106.** Calhoun on the Government of the United States. **107.** Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address. **108.** Chancellor Livingston on the Invention of the Steamboat. **109.** Horace Mann's Address on the Ground of the Free School System. **110.** Rufus Choate's Address on the Romance of New England History. **111.** Kosuth's First Speech in Faneuil Hall. **112.** King Alfred's Description of Europe. **113.** Augustine in England. **114.** The Hague Arbitration Treaty. **115.** John Cabot's Discovery of North America. **116.** Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California. **117.** Frobisher's First Voyage. **118.** Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Expedition to Newfoundland. **119.** Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony. **120.** Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk. **121.** Captain John Smith's Description of New England. **122.** Richard Hakluyt's Discourse on Western Planting. **123.** Selections from Dante's "Monarchia." **124.** Selections from More's "Utopia." **125.** Wyclif's English Bible. **126.** Brissot's Account of Boston in 1788. **127.** The Ordinance of 1784. **128.** The Cession of Louisiana. **129.** Monroe's Messages on Florida. **130.** Captain Potter's Account of the Fall of the Alamo. **131.** Porter's Account of the Discovery of the Columbia River. **132.** Sumner's Report on the War with Mexico. **133.** Seward's Address on Alaska.

The leaflets, which are sold at five cents a copy or four dollars per hundred, are also furnished in bound volumes, each volume containing twenty-five leaflets: Vol. i., Nos. 1-25; Vol. ii., 26-50; Vol. iii., 51-75; Vol. iv., 76-100; Vol. v., 101-125. Price per volume, \$1.50. Title-pages with table of contents will be furnished to all purchasers of the leaflets who wish to bind them for themselves. Annual series of eight leaflets each, in paper covers, 50 cents a volume.

Address DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK, Old South Meeting-house, Boston.

It is hoped that this list of Old South Lectures and Leaflets will meet the needs of many clubs and classes engaged in the study of history, as

well as the needs of individual students, serving as a table of topics. The subjects of the lectures in the various courses will be found to have a logical sequence; and the leaflets accompanying the several lectures can be used profitably in connection, containing as they do full historical notes and references to the best literature on the subjects of the lectures.

## OLD SOUTH ESSAYS, 1881-1901.

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The Old South prizes for the best essays on subjects in American history were first offered by Mrs. Hemenway in 1881, and they have been awarded regularly in each successive year since. The competition is open to all graduates of the various Boston high schools in the current year and the preceding year. Two subjects are proposed each year, forty dollars being awarded for the best essay on each of the subjects named, and twenty-five dollars for the second best,—in all, four prizes.

The first prize essay for 1881, on "The Policy of the early Colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and Others whom they regarded as Intruders," by Henry L. Southwick, and one of the first-prize essays for 1889, on "Washington's Interest in Education," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, have been printed, and can be procured at the Old South Meeting-house. Another of the prize essays on "Washington's Interest in Education," by Miss Julia K. Ordway, was published in the *New England Magazine*, for May, 1890; one of the first-prize essays for 1890, on "Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, appeared in the *New England Magazine* for September, 1891; one of the first-prize essays for 1891, on "Marco Polo's Explorations in Asia and their Influence upon Columbus," by Miss Helen P. Margesson, in the number for August, 1892; one for 1893, on "The Part of Massachusetts Men in the Ordinance of 1787," by Miss Elizabeth H. Tetlow, in March, 1895; and one for 1898, on "The Struggle of France and England for North America," by Caroline B. Shaw, in January, 1900.

The Old South essayists of these years now number over two hundred; and they naturally represent the best historical scholarship of their successive years in the Boston high schools. They have been organized into an Old South Historical Society, which holds monthly meetings for the reading of papers and general discussion. The meetings of the society for the season of 1896-97 were devoted to the study of the Anti-slavery Struggle. The general subject for the season of 1897-98 was "The Heritage of Slavery," taking up reconstruction, the education of the freedmen, etc. The subject for 1898-99 was "The History of the Spanish Power in America." The 1899-1900 studies were of "Economic and Social Forces in Massachusetts to 1800." The courses for 1900-1901 and 1901-1902 were on "The Puritan Movement."

The society has also instituted annual historical pilgrimages, in which it invites the young people of Boston and vicinity to join. Its first pilgrimage, in 1896, was to old Rutland, Mass., "the cradle of Ohio." Its second pilgrimage, June, 1897, in which six hundred joined, was to the homes of Whittier by the Merrimack. The third pilgrimage, June, 1898, joined in by an equal number, was to the King Philip Country, Mount Hope, R.I. The 1899 pilgrimage was to Plymouth. The 1900 pilgrimage was to Newburyport. The 1901 pilgrimage was to Newport. The 1902 pilgrimage was to Portsmouth.

The subjects of the Old South essays from 1881 to 1902 are given below, in the hope that they will prove suggestive and stimulating to other students and societies. It will be observed that the subjects of the later essays are closely related to the subjects of the lectures for the year.

1881. What was the policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders? Was this policy in any respect objectionable, and, if so, what excuses can be offered for it?



Why did the American colonies separate from the mother country? Did the early settlers look forward to any such separation, and, if not, how and when did the wish for it grow up? What was the difference between the form of government which they finally adopted and that under which they had before been living?

1882. Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain boys; or, the early history of the New Hampshire grant, afterward called Vermont.

The town meeting in the Old South Meeting-house on July 22 and 28, 1774.

1883. The right and wrong of the policy of the United States toward the North American Indians.

What were the defects of the "Articles of Confederation" between the United States, and why was the "Constitution of the United States" substituted?

1884. Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England?

The struggle to maintain the Massachusetts charter, to its final loss in 1684. Discuss the relation of the struggle to the subsequent struggle of the colonies for independence.

1885. Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts.

The "States Rights" doctrine in New England, with special reference to the Hartford Convention.

1886. The Boston town meetings and their influence in the American Revolution.

English opinion upon the American Revolution preceding and during the war.

1887. The Albany Convention of 1754, its history and significance, with reference to previous and subsequent movements toward union in the colonies.

Is a Congress of two houses or a Congress of one house the better? What was said about it in the Constitutional Convention, and what is to be said about it to-day?

1888. England's part in the Crusades, and the influence of the Crusades upon the development of English liberty.

The political thought of Sir Henry Vane. Consider Vane's relations to Cromwell and his influence upon America.

1889. The influence of French political thought upon America during the period of the American and French Revolutions.

Washington's interest in the cause of education. Consider especially his project of a national university.

1890. Efforts for the education of the Indians in the American colonies before the Revolution.

King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh: discuss their plans for Indian union and compare their characters.

1891. The introduction of printing into England by William Caxton, and its effects upon English literature and life.

Marco Polo's explorations in Asia, and their influence upon Columbus.

1892. The native races of Mexico, and their civilization at the time of the conquest by Cortes.

English explorations in America during the century following the discovery by Columbus.

1893. The part taken by Massachusetts men in connection with the Ordinance of 1787.

Coronado and the early Spanish explorations of New Mexico.

1894. The relations of the founders of New England to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut and their place in the history of written constitutions.

1895. New England politics as affected by the changes in England from 1629 to 1692, the dates of the two Massachusetts charters.

The character of Cromwell as viewed by his contemporaries. Consider especially the tributes of Milton and Marvell.

1896. Early historical writings in America, from Captain John Smith to Governor Hutchinson.

The Harvard historians, and the services of Harvard University for American history.

1897. The history of slavery in the Northern States and of Anti-slavery Sentiment in the South before the Civil War.

The Anti-slavery movement in American literature.

1898. The Struggle of France and England for North America, from the founding of Quebec by Champlain till the capture of Quebec by Wolfe.

The History of Immigration to the United States from the close of the Revolution to the present time. Consider the race and character of the immigrants in the earlier and later periods.

1899. The American Revolution under Washington and the English Revolution under Cromwell: Compare their Causes, Aims, and Results.

Washington's Plan for a National University: The Argument for it a Hundred Years Ago and the Argument To-day.

1900. The Monroe Doctrine: Its History and Purpose.

Longfellow's Poetry of America: His Use of American Subjects and his Services for American History.

1901. The Explorations of the New England Coast previous to the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, with special reference to the early maps.

The Services of Richard Hakluyt in promoting the English colonization of America.

1902. The Political History of the Louisiana Territory, from the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to the Admission of Louisiana as a State in 1812.

Explorations beyond the Mississippi, from the Discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray to the Last Expedition under Fremont.



Old South Leaflets.

No. 126.

# Boston in 1788.

JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT.

FROM "NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA," BY  
JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, PUBLISHED IN  
PARIS IN 1791.

Boston, July 30, 1788.

With what joy, my good friend, did I leap to this shore of liberty! I was weary of the sea; and the sight of trees, of towns, and even of men, gives a delicious refreshment to eyes fatigued with the desert of the ocean. I flew from despotism, and came at last to enjoy the spectacle of liberty among a people where nature, education, and habit had engraved the equality of rights, which everywhere else is treated as a chimera. With what pleasure did I contemplate this town, which first shook off the English yoke! which, for a long time, resisted all the seductions, all the menaces, all the horrors of a civil war! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose full stores offer me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artisans, and the sailors! It was not the noisy vortex of Paris; it was not the unquiet, eager mien of my countrymen; it was the simple, dignified air of men who are conscious of liberty, and who see in all men their brothers and their equals. Everything in this street bears the marks of a town still in its infancy, but which, even its infancy, enjoys a great prosperity. I thought myself in that Salentum of which the lively pencil of Fénelon has left us so charming an image. But the prosperity of this new Salentum was not the work of

one man, of a king, or a minister ; it is the fruit of liberty, that mother of industry. Everything is rapid, everything great, everything durable with her. A royal or ministerial prosperity, like a king or a minister, has only the duration of a moment. Boston is just rising from the devastations of war, and its commerce is flourishing ; its manufactures, productions, arts, and sciences offer a number of curious and interesting observations.

The manners of the people are not exactly the same as described by M. de Crevecoeur. You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking ; which forbade travelling on Sunday ; which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends. They are tender husbands, fond and almost idolatrous parents, and kind masters. Music, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the forte-piano. This art, it is true, is still in its infancy ; but the young novices who exercise it are so gentle, so complaisant and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the malady of perfection in this art ! It is never attained but at the expense of the domestic virtues.

The young women here enjoy the liberty they do in England, that they did in Geneva when morals were there, and the republic existed ; and they do not abuse it. Their frank and tender hearts have nothing to fear from the perfidy of men. Examples of this perfidy are rare ; the vows of love are believed ; and love always respects them, or shame follows the guilty.

The Bostonian mothers are reserved. Their air is, however, frank, good and communicative. Entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in rendering their husbands happy, and in training their children to virtue.

The law denounces heavy penalties against adultery, such as the pillory and imprisonment. This law has scarcely ever been called into execution. It is because families are happy ; and they are pure because they are happy.

Neatness without luxury is a characteristic feature of this purity of manners; and this neatness is seen everywhere at Boston, in their dress, in their houses, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inside view of a church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man; calicoes and chintzes dress the women and children, without being spoiled by those gewgaws which whim and caprice have added to them among our women. Powder and pomatum never sully the heads of infants and children: I see them with pain, however, on the heads of men: they invoke the art of the hair-dresser; for, unhappily, this art has already crossed the seas.

I shall never call to mind, without emotion, the pleasure I had one day in hearing the respectable Mr. Clarke, successor to the learned Dr. Chauncey, the friend of mankind. His church is in close union with that of Dr. Cooper, to whom every good Frenchman, and every friend of liberty, owes a tribute of gratitude for the love he bore the French, and the zeal with which he defended and preached the American independence. I remarked in this auditory the exterior of that ease and contentment of which I have spoken; that collected calmness, resulting from the habit of gravity, and the conscious presence of the Almighty; that religious decency which is equally distant from grovelling idolatry, and from the light and wanton airs of those Europeans who go to a church as to a theatre.

*Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.*

But, to crown my happiness, I saw none of those livid wretches, covered with rags, who in Europe, soliciting our compassion at the foot of the altar, seem to bear testimony against Providence, our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, everything, bore the same simplicity. The sermon breathed the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

The excellence of this morality characterizes almost all the sermons of all the sects through the Continent. The ministers rarely speak dogmas: universal tolerance, the child of American independence, has banished the preaching of dogmas, which always leads to discussion and quarrels. All the sects admit nothing but morality, which is the same in all, and the only preaching proper for a great society of brothers.

This tolerance is unlimited at Boston, a town formerly wit-

ness of bloody persecutions, especially against the Quakers, where many of this sect paid with their life for their perseverance in their religious opinions. Just Heaven! how is it possible there can exist men believing sincerely in God, and yet barbarous enough to inflict death on a woman, the intrepid Dyer, because she *thou'd* and *thou'd* men, because she did not believe in the divine mission of priests, because she would follow the Gospel literally? But let us draw the curtain over these scenes of horror; they will never again sully this new continent, destined by Heaven to be the asylum of liberty and humanity. Every one at present worships God in his own way, at Boston. Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Catholics profess openly their opinions; and all offices of government, places, and emoluments are equally open to all sects. Virtue and talents, and not religious opinions, are the tests of public confidence.

The ministers of different sects live in such harmony that they supply each other's places when any one is detained from his pulpit.

On seeing men think so differently on matters of religion, and yet possess such virtues, it may be concluded that one may be very honest, and believe, or not believe, in transubstantiation, and the word. They have concluded that it is best to tolerate each other, and that this is the worship most agreeable to God.

Before this opinion was so general among them they had established another: it was the necessity of reducing divine worship to the greatest simplicity, to disconnect it from all its superstitious ceremonies, which gave it the appearance of idolatry; and, particularly, not to give their priests enormous salaries, to enable them to live in luxury and idleness; in a word, to restore the evangelical simplicity. They have succeeded. In the country, the church has a glebe; in town, the ministers live on collections made each Sunday in the church, and the rents of pews. It is an excellent practice to induce the ministers to be diligent in their studies, and faithful in their duty; for the preference is given to him whose discourses please the most, and his salary is the most considerable; while, among us, the ignorant and the learned, the debauchee and the man of virtue, are always sure of their livings. It results, likewise, from this that a mode of worship will not be imposed on those who do not believe in it. Is it not a tyranny to force men to pay for the support of a system which they abhor?

The Bostonians are become so philosophical on the subject of religion that they have lately ordained a man who was refused by the bishop. The sect to which he belongs have installed him in their church, and given him the power to preach and to teach; and he preaches, and he teaches, and discovers good abilities; for the people rarely deceive themselves in their choice. This economical institution, which has no example but in the primitive church, has been censured by those who believe still in the tradition of orders by the direct descendants of the Apostles. But the Bostonians are so near believing that every man may be his own preacher that the apostolic doctrine has not found very warm advocates. They will soon be, in America, in the situation where M. d'Alembert has placed the ministers of Geneva.

Since the ancient puritan austerity has disappeared, you are no longer surprised to see a game of cards introduced among these good Presbyterians. When the mind is tranquil, in the enjoyment of competence and peace, it is natural to occupy it in this way, especially in a country where there is no theatre, where men make it not a business to pay court to the women, where they read few books, and cultivate still less the sciences. This taste for cards is certainly unhappy in a republican state. The habit of them contracts the mind, prevents the acquisition of useful knowledge, leads to idleness and dissipation, and gives birth to every malignant passion. Happily, it is not very considerable in Boston: you see here no fathers of families risking their whole fortunes in it.

There are many clubs at Boston. M. Chastellux speaks of a particular club held once a week. I was at it several times, and was much pleased with their politeness to strangers, and the knowledge displayed in their conversation. There is no coffee-house at Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. One house in each town, that they call by that name, serves as an exchange.

One of the principal pleasures of the inhabitants of these towns consists in little parties for the country among families and friends. The principal expense of the parties, especially after dinner, is tea. In this, as in their whole manner of living, the Americans in general resemble the English. Punch, warm and cold, before dinner: excellent beef, and Spanish and Bordeaux wines, cover their tables, always solidly and abundantly

served. Spruce beer, excellent cider, and Philadelphia porter precede the wines. This porter is equal to the English: the manufacture of it saves a vast tribute formerly paid to the English industry. The same may soon be said with respect to cheese. I have often found American cheese equal to the best Cheshire of England, or the Rocfort of France. This may with truth be said of that made on a farm on Elizabeth Island, belonging to the respectable Governor Bowdoin.

After forcing the English to give up their domination, the Americans determined to rival them in everything useful. This spirit of emulation shows itself everywhere: it has erected at Boston an extensive glass manufactory, belonging to M. Breck and others.

This spirit of emulation has opened to the Bostonians so many channels of commerce, which lead them to all parts of the globe.

Nil mortalibus arduum est;  
Audax Japeti genus.

If these lines could ever apply to any people, it is to the free Americans. No danger, no distance, no obstacle, impedes them. What have they to fear? All mankind are their brethren: they wish peace with all.

It is this spirit of emulation which multiplies and brings to perfection so many manufactories of cordage in this town; which has erected filatures of hemp and flax, proper to occupy young people, without subjecting them to be crowded together in such numbers as to ruin their health and their morals; proper, likewise, to occupy that class of women whom the long voyages of their seafaring husbands and other accidents reduce to inoccupation.

To this spirit of emulation are owing the manufactories of salt, nails, paper and paper-hangings, which are multiplied in this state. The rum distilleries are on the decline since the suppression of the slave trade, in which this liquor was employed, and since the diminution of the use of strong spirits by the country people.

This is fortunate for the human race; and the American industry will soon repair the small loss it sustains from the decline of this fabrication of poisons.

Massachusetts wishes to rival, in manufactures, Connecticut



and Pennsylvania; she has, like the last, a society formed for the encouragement of manufactures and industry.

The greatest monuments of the industry of this state are the three bridges of Charles, Malden, and Essex.

Boston has the glory of having given the first college or university to the new world. It is placed on an extensive plain, four miles from Boston, at a place called Cambridge: the origin of this useful institution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all the conditions essential to a seat of education; sufficiently near to Boston to enjoy all the advantages of a communication with Europe and the rest of the world, and sufficiently distant not to expose the students to the contagion of licentious manners common in commercial towns.

The air of Cambridge is pure, and the environs charming, offering a vast space for the exercise of the youth.

The buildings are large, numerous, and well distributed. But, as the number of the students augments every day, it will be necessary soon to augment the buildings. The library, and the cabinet of philosophy, do honor to the institution. The first contains 13,000 volumes. The heart of a Frenchman palpitates on finding the works of Racine, of Montesquieu, and the Encyclopædia where 150 years ago, arose the smoke of the savage calumet.

The regulation of the course of studies here is nearly the same as that at the university of Oxford. I think it impossible but that the last revolution must introduce a great reform. Free men ought to strip themselves of their prejudices, and to perceive that, above all, it is necessary to be a man and a citizen; and that the study of the dead languages, of a fastidious philosophy and theology, ought to occupy few of the moments of a life which might be usefully employed in studies more advantageous to the great family of a human race.

Such a change in the studies is more probable, as an academy is formed at Boston, composed of respectable men, who cultivate all the sciences; and who, disengaged from religious prejudices, will doubtless very soon point out a course of education more short, and more sure in forming good citizens and philosophers.

Mr. Bowdoin, president of this academy, is a man of universal talents. He unites with his profound erudition the

virtues of a magistrate and the principles of a republican politician. His conduct has never disappointed the confidence of his fellow-citizens; though his son-in-law, Mr. Temple, has incurred their universal detestation for the versatility of his conduct during the war, and his open attachment to the British since the peace. To recompense him for this, the English have given him the consulate-general of America.

But to return to the university of Cambridge, superintended by the respectable President Willard. Among the associates in the direction of studies are distinguished Dr. Wigglesworth and Dr. Dexter. The latter is professor of natural philosophy, chemistry, and medicine; a man of extensive knowledge, and great modesty. He told me, to my great satisfaction, that he gave lectures on the experiments of our school of chemistry. The excellent work of my respectable master, Dr. Fourcroy, was in his hands, which taught him the rapid strides that this science has lately made in Europe.

In a free country everything ought to bear the stamp of patriotism. This patriotism, so happily displayed in the foundation, endowment, and encouragement of this university, appears every year in a solemn feast celebrated at Cambridge in honor of the Sciences. This feast, which takes place once a year in all the colleges of America, is called the *commencement*: it resembles the exercises and distribution of prizes in our colleges. It is a day of joy for Boston; almost all its inhabitants assemble in Cambridge. The most distinguished of the students display their talents in the presence of the public; and these exercises, which are generally on patriotic subjects, are terminated by a feast, where reign the freest gayety and the most cordial fraternity.

It is remarked, that in countries chiefly devoted to commerce the sciences are not carried to any high degree. This remark applies to Boston. The university certainly contains men of worth and learning; but science is not diffused among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and absorbs all their speculations. Thus you find few estimable works, and few authors. The expense of the first volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of this town is not yet covered: it is two years since it appeared. Some time since was published the History of the late Troubles in Massachusetts; it is very well written. The author has found much

difficulty to indemnify himself for the expense of printing it. Never has the whole of the precious history of New Hampshire, by Belknap, appeared, for want of encouragement.

Poets, for the same reason, must be more rare than other writers. They speak, however, of an original but lazy poet, by the name of *Allen*. His verses are said to be full of warmth and force. They mention, particularly, a manuscript poem of his on the famous battle of Bunker Hill; but he will not print it. He has for his reputation and his money the carelessness of *La Fontaine*.

They publish a magazine here, though the number of gazettes is very considerable. The multiplicity of gazettes proves the activity of commerce, and the taste for politics and news; the merits and multiplicity of literary and political magazines are signs of the culture of the sciences.

You may judge from these details that the arts, except those that respect navigation, do not receive much encouragement here. The history of the planetarium of Mr. Pope is a proof of it. Mr. Pope is a very ingenious artist, occupied in clock-making. The machine which he has constructed, to explain the movement of the heavenly bodies, would astonish you, especially when you consider that he has received no succor from Europe, and very little from books. He owes the whole to himself; he is, like the painter Trumbull, the child of nature. Ten years of his life have been occupied in perfecting this planetarium. He had opened a subscription to recompense his trouble; but the subscription was never full.

This discouraged artist told me one day that he was going to Europe to sell this machine, and to construct others. This country, said he, is too poor to encourage the arts. These words, *this country is too poor*, struck me. I reflected that, if they were pronounced in Europe, they might lead to wrong ideas of America; for the idea of poverty carries that of rags, of hunger; and no country is more distant from that sad condition. When riches are centred in a few hands, these have a great superfluity; and this superfluity may be applied to their pleasures, and to favor the agreeable and frivolous arts. When riches are equally divided in society, there is very little superfluity, and consequently little means of encouraging the agreeable arts. But which of these two countries is the rich, and which is the poor? According to the European ideas, and in the sense of

Mr. Pope, it is the first that is rich ; but to the eye of reason it is not, for the other is the happiest. Hence it results that the ability of giving encouragement to the agreeable arts is a symptom of national calamity.

Let us not blame the Bostonians ; they think of the useful before procuring to themselves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments ; but they have neat and commodious churches, but they have good houses, but they have superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night ; while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness.

Besides the societies for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, they have another, known by the name of the Humane Society. Their object is to recover drowned persons. It is formed after the model of the one at London, as that is copied from the one at Paris. They follow the same methods as in Europe, and have rendered important succors.

The Medical Society is not less useful than the one last mentioned. It holds a correspondence with all the country towns ; to know the symptoms of local diseases, propose the proper remedies, and give instruction thereupon to their fellow-citizens.

Another establishment is the almshouse. It is destined to the poor who, by age and infirmity, are unable to gain their living. It contains at present about 150 persons.

Another, called the workhouse, or house of correction, is not so much peopled as you might imagine. In a rising country, in an active port, where provisions are cheap, good morals predominate, and the number of thieves and vagabonds is small. These are vermin attached to misery ; and there is no misery here.

The state of exports and imports of this industrious people, to prove to you how many new branches of commerce they have opened since the peace, I refer to the general table of the commerce of the United States, which I propose to lay before you.

An employment which is, unhappily, one of the most lucrative in this state, is the profession of the law. They preserve still the expensive forms of the English practice, which good sense, and the love of order, ought to teach them to suppress ;

they render advocates necessary: they have likewise borrowed from their fathers, the English, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But, notwithstanding the abuses of law proceedings, they complain very little of the lawyers. Those with whom I have been acquainted appear to enjoy a great reputation for integrity, such as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, Sullivan.

They did themselves honor in the affair of the Tender Act, by endeavoring to prevent it from being enacted, and afterwards to diminish as much as possible its unjust effects.

It is in part to their enlightened philanthropy that is to be attributed the law of the 26th of March, 1788, which condemns to heavy penalties all persons who shall import or export slaves, or be concerned in this infamous traffic.

Finally, they have had a great part in the Revolution, by their writings, by their discourses, by taking the lead in the affairs of Congress, and in foreign negotiations.

To recall this memorable period is to bring to mind one of the greatest ornaments of the American bar, the celebrated Adams, who from the humble station of a schoolmaster has raised himself to the first dignities, whose name is as much respected in Europe as in his own country for the difficult embassies with which he has been charged. He has finally returned to his retreat, in the midst of the applauses of his fellow-citizens, occupied in the cultivation of his farm, and forgetting what he was when he trampled on the pride of his king, who had put a price upon his head, and who was forced to receive him as the ambassador of a free country. Such were the generals and ambassadors of the best ages of Rome and Greece: such were Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, and Fabius.

It is not possible to see Mr. Adams, who knows so well the American constitutions, without speaking to him of that which appears to be taking place in France. I don't know whether he has an ill-opinion of our character, of our constancy, or of our understanding; but he does not believe that we can establish a liberty even equal to what the English enjoy; he does not believe even that we have the right, like the ancient States-General, to require that no tax should be imposed without the consent of the people. I had no difficulty in combating him, even by authorities, independent of the social compact, against which no time, no concessions, can prescribe.

Mr. Adams is not the only man distinguished in this great

revolution who has retired to the obscure labors of a country life. General Heath is one of those worthy imitators of the Roman Cincinnatus, for he likes not the American *Cincinnati*; their eagle appears to him a gewgaw, proper only for children. On showing me a letter from the immortal Washington, whom he loves as a father, and reveres as an angel, this letter, says he, is a jewel which, in my eyes, surpasses all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world. It was a letter in which that general had felicitated him for his good conduct on a certain occasion. With what joy did this respectable man show me all parts of his farm! What happiness he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glass of cider, which he presented to me with frankness and good humor painted on his countenance, appeared to me superior to the most exquisite wines. With this simplicity, men are worthy of liberty, and they are sure of enjoying it for a long time.

This simplicity characterizes almost all the men of this state who have acted distinguished parts in the revolution: such, among others, as Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock, the present governor. If ever a man was sincerely an idolater of republicanism, it is Samuel Adams; and never a man united more virtues to give respect to his opinions. He has the excess of republican virtues, untainted probity, simplicity, modesty,\* and, above all, firmness: he will have no capitulation with abuses; he fears as much the despotism of virtue and talents as the despotism of vice. Cherishing the greatest love and respect for Washington, he voted to take from him the command at the end of a certain term; he recollected that Caesar could not have succeeded in overturning the republic but by prolonging the command of the army. The event has proved that the application was false: but it was by a miracle, and the safety of a country should never be risked on the faith of a miracle.

Samuel Adams is the best supporter of the party of Governor Hancock. You know the great sacrifices which the latter made in the revolution, and the boldness with which he declared himself at the beginning of the insurrection. The same spirit of patriotism animates him still. A great gen-

\* When I compare our legislators, with their airs of importance, always fearing they shall not make noise enough, that they shall not be sufficiently praised,—when I compare them to these modest republicans, I fear for the success of the revolution. The vain man can never be far from slavery

erosity, united to a vast ambition, forms his character : he has the virtues and the address of popularism ; that is to say, that without effort he shews himself the equal and the friend of all. I supped at his house with a hatter, who appeared to be in great familiarity with him. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite when he wishes to be ; but they say he does not always choose it. He has a marvellous gout, which dispenses him from all attentions, and forbids the access to his house. Mr. Hancock has not the learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin : he seems even to disdain the sciences. The latter is more esteemed by enlightened men ; the former more beloved by the people. Among the partisans of the governor, I distinguished two brothers, by the name of Jarvis : one is comptroller-general of the state ; the other, a physician, and member of the legislature. The first has as much calmness of examination and profundity of thought as the latter has of rapidity in his penetration, agility in his ideas, and vivacity in his expression. They resemble each other in one point, that is, in simplicity — the first of republican virtues : a virtue born with the Americans, and only acquired with us. If I were to paint to you all the estimable characters which I found in this charming town, my portraits would never be finished. I found everywhere that hospitality, that affability, that friendship for the French which M. Chastellux has so much exalted. I found them especially with Messrs. Breck, Russel, Gore, Barrett, &c.

The parts adjacent to Boston are charming and well cultivated, adorned with elegant houses and agreeable situations. Among the surrounding eminences you distinguish Bunker Hill. This name will recall to your mind the famous Warren, one of the first martyrs of American liberty. I owed an homage to his generous manes ; and I was eager to pay it. You arrive at Bunker Hill by the superb bridge at Charlestown, of which I have spoken. This town was entirely burnt by the English in their attack of Bunker Hill. It is at present rebuilt with elegant houses of wood. You see here the store of Mr. Gorham, formerly president of Congress. This hill offers one of the most astonishing monuments of American valor : it is impossible to conceive how seven or eight hundred men, badly armed, and fatigued, having just constructed, in haste, a few miserable intrenchments, and who knew nothing, or very little, of the use of arms, could resist, for so long a time, the attack of thousands

of the English troops, fresh, well-disciplined, succeeding each other in the attack. But such was the vigorous resistance of the Americans that the English lost 1200 men, killed and wounded, before they became master of the place. Observe that they had two frigates, which, crossing their fire on Charles-town, prevented the arrival of succor to the Americans. Yet it is very probable that the English would have been forced to retire, had not the Americans failed in ammunition.

While the friend of liberty is contemplating this scene, and dropping a tear to the memory of Warren, his emotions of enthusiasm are renewed on viewing the expressive picture of the death of that warrior, painted by Mr. Trumbull, whose talents may equal, one day, those of the most famous masters.

I must finish this long, and too long, letter. Many objects remain still to entertain you with in this state, such as the constitution, debts, taxes; but I refer them to the general table which I shall make of them for the United States. The taxable heads of this state are upwards of 100,000, acres of arable land 200,000, pasturage 340,000, uncultivated 2,000,000, tons of shipping at Boston 60,000.

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#### VISIT TO MT. VERNON.

I hastened to arrive at Mt. Vernon, the seat of General Washington, ten miles below Alexandria on the same river. On this route you traverse a considerable wood; and, after having passed over two hills, you discover a country house of an elegant and majestic simplicity. It is preceded by grass plats. On one side of the avenue are the stables, on the other a green-house and houses for a number of negro mechanics. In a spacious back yard are turkeys, geese, and other poultry. This house overlooks the Potomac, enjoys an extensive prospect, has a vast and elevated portico on the front next the river, and a convenient distribution of the apartments within. The general came home in the evening, fatigued with having been to lay out a new road in some part of his plantations. You have often heard him compared to Cincinnatus. The comparison is doubtless just. This celebrated general is nothing more at present than a good farmer, constantly occupied in the care of his farm and the improvement of cultivation.



He has lately built a barn, one hundred feet in length and considerably more in breadth, destined to receive the productions of his farm, and to shelter his cattle, horses, asses, and mules. It is built on a plan sent him by that famous English farmer, Arthur Young. But the general has much improved the plan. This building is in brick. It cost but three hundred pounds. I am sure in France it would have cost three thousand. He planted this year eleven hundred bushels of potatoes. All this is new in Virginia, where they know not the use of barns, and where they lay up no provisions for their cattle. His three hundred negroes are distributed in different log houses in different parts of his plantation, which in this neighborhood consists of ten thousand acres. Colonel Humphreys, that poet of whom I have spoken, assured me that the general possesses, in different parts of the country, more than two hundred thousand acres.

Everything has an air of simplicity in his house. His table is good, but not ostentatious; and no deviation is seen from regularity and domestic economy. Mrs. Washington superintends the whole, and joins to the qualities of an excellent housewife that simple dignity which ought to characterize a woman whose husband has acted the greatest part on the theatre of human affairs, while she possesses that amenity, and manifests that attention to strangers which render hospitality so charming. The same virtues are conspicuous in her interesting niece; but unhappily she appears not to enjoy good health.

M. de Chastellux has mingled too much of the brilliant in his portrait of General Washington. His eye bespeaks great goodness of heart, manly sense marks all his answers, and he sometimes animates in conversation; but he has no characteristic features, which renders it difficult to seize him. He announces a profound discretion and a great diffidence in himself, but at the same time an unshaken firmness of character when once he has made his decision. His modesty is astonishing to a Frenchman. He speaks of the American war and of his victories as of things in which he had no direction.

He spoke to me of M. de Lafayette with the greatest tenderness. He regarded him as his child, and foresaw, with a joy mixed with inquietude, the part that this pupil was going to act in the approaching revolution of France. He could not

predict, with clearness, the event of this revolution. If, on the one side, he acknowledges the ardor and enthusiasm of the French character, on the other he saw an astonishing veneration for their ancient government and for those monarchs whose inviolability appeared to him a strange idea.

After passing three days in the house of this celebrated man, who loaded me with kindness, and gave me much information relative to the late war and the present situation of the United States, I returned to Alexandria.

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#### THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

I have not the time, my friend, to describe to you the new country of the west: which, though at present unknown to the Europeans, must, from the nature of things, very soon merit the attention of every commercial and manufacturing nation. I shall lay before you at present only a general view of these astonishing settlements, and refer to another time the details which a speculative philosopher may be able to draw from them. At the foot of the Alleghanies, whose summits, however, do not threaten the heavens, like those of the Andes and the Alps, begins an immense plain, intersected with hills of a gentle ascent, and watered everywhere with streams of all sizes; the soil is from three to seven feet deep, and of an astonishing fertility: it is proper for every kind of culture, and it multiplies cattle almost without the care of man.

It is there that those establishments are formed whose prosperity attracts so many emigrants; such as Kentucky, Frankland, Cumberland, Holston, Muskingum, and Scioto.

The oldest and most flourishing of these is Kentucky, which began in 1775, had 8,000 inhabitants in 1782, 50,000 in 1787, and 70,000 in 1790 [?]. It will soon be a state.

Cumberland, situated in the neighborhood of Kentucky, contains 8,000 inhabitants, Holston 5,000, and Frankland 25,000.

On beholding the multiplication and happiness of the human species in these rapid and prosperous settlements, and comparing them with the languor and debility of colonies formed by despots, how august and venerable does the aspect of liberty appear! Her power is equal to her will: she commands, and forests are overturned, mountains sink to cultivated plains, and nature prepares an asylum for numerous generations; while the proud city of Palmyra perishes with its haughty founder, and its ruins attest to the world that nothing is durable but what is founded and fostered by freedom. It appears that Kentucky will preserve its advantage over the other

settlements on the south : its territory is more extensive, its soil more fertile, and its inhabitants more numerous : it is situated on the Ohio, navigable at almost all seasons : this last advantage is equally enjoyed by the two settlements of which I am going to speak. The establishment at Muskingum was formed in 1788, by a number of emigrants from New England, belonging to the Ohio Company. The Muskingum is a river which falls into the Ohio from the west. These people have an excellent soil, and every prospect of success.

From these proprietors is formed another association, whose name is more known in France ; it is that of the *Scioto Company*,\* a name taken from a river which, after having traversed the two millions of acres which they possess, falls into the Ohio.

This settlement would soon rise to a high degree of prosperity if the proper cautions were taken in the embarkation and the necessary means employed to solace them, and to prepare them for a kind of life so different from that to which they are accustomed.

The revolution in the American government will, doubtless, be beneficial to the savages ; for the government tends essentially to peace. But, as a rapid increase of population must necessarily be the consequence of its operations, the savages must either blend with the Americans, or a thousand causes will speedily annihilate that race of men.

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the savages will ever arrest the ardor of the Americans for extending their settlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Mississippi becoming free will soon open to them the markets of the islands and the Spanish colonies for the productions with which their country overflows. But the question to be solved is, whether the Spaniards will open this navigation willingly or whether the Americans will force it. A kind of negotiation has been carried on, without effect, for four years ; and it is supposed that certain States, fearing to lose their inhabitants by emigration to the west, have, in concert with the Spanish minister, opposed it ; and that this concert gave rise to a proposition that Spain should shut up the navigation for twenty-five years, on condition that the Americans should have a free commerce with Spain. Virginia and Maryland, though they had more to fear from this emigration than the other States, were opposed to this proposition as derogatory to the honor of the United States ; and a majority of Congress adopted the sentiment.

A degree of diffidence, which the inhabitants of the west have shewn relative to the secret designs of Congress, has induced many people to believe that the union would not exist a long time between the old and new States ; and this probability of a rupture, they say,

\* The writer in a note here defends the Scioto Company from certain criticism and commends its lands to the poor of Europe contemplating emigration.—*Editor.*

is strengthened by some endeavors of the English in Canada to attach the western settlers to the English government.

But a number of reasons determine me to believe that the present union will forever subsist. A great part of the property of the western land belongs to people of the east; the unceasing emigrations serve perpetually to strengthen their connections; and as it is for the interest both of the east and west to open an extensive commerce with South America, and to overleap the Mississippi, they must, and will, remain united for the accomplishment of this object.

The western inhabitants are convinced that this navigation cannot remain a long time closed. They are determined to open it by good will or by force; and it would not be in the power of Congress to moderate their ardor. Men who have shook off the yoke of Great Britain, and who are masters of the Ohio and the Mississippi, cannot conceive that the insolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of shutting rivers and seas against a hundred thousand free Americans. The slightest quarrel will be sufficient to throw them into a flame; and if ever the Americans shall march towards New Orleans it will infallibly fall into their hands. The Spaniards fear this moment; and it cannot be far off. If they had the policy to open the Mississippi, the port of New Orleans would become the centre of a lucrative commerce. But her narrow and superstitious policy will oppose it; for she fears, above all things, the communication of those principles of independence which the Americans preach wherever they go, and to which their own success gives an additional weight.

In order to avert the effects of this enterprising character of the free Americans, the Spanish government has adopted the pitiful project of attracting them to a settlement on the west of the Mississippi,\* and by granting to those who shall establish themselves there the exclusive right of trading to New Orleans. This colony is the first foundation of the conquest of Louisiana, and of the civilization of Mexico and Peru.

How desirable it is for the happiness of the human race that this communication should extend! for cultivation and population here will augment the prosperity of the manufacturing nations of Europe. The French and Spaniards, settled at the Natches, on the most fertile soil, have not for a century cultivated a single acre; while the Americans, who have lately made a settlement there, have at present three thousand farms of four hundred acres each, which furnish the greater part of the provisions for New Orleans. O Liberty, how great is thy empire! thou createst industry, which vivifies the dead.

I transport myself sometimes in imagination to the succeeding century. I see this whole extent of continent, from Canada to Quito,

\* Colonel Morgan is at the head of this settlement.

covered with cultivated fields, little villages, and country houses.\* I see Happiness and Industry smiling side by side, Beauty adorning the daughter of Nature, Liberty and Morals rendering almost useless the coercion of Government and Laws, and gentle Tolerance taking place of the ferocious Inquisition. I see Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, Frenchmen, and Canadians embracing each other, cursing tyrants, and blessing the reign of Liberty, which leads to universal harmony. But the mines, the slaves, what is to become of them? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters. As to gold, it is degrading to a free country to dig for it, unless it can be done without slaves; and a free people cannot want for signs to serve as a medium in exchanging their commodities. Gold has always served more the cause of despotism than that of liberty; and liberty will always find less dangerous agents to serve in its place.

Our speculators in Europe are far from imagining that two revolutions are preparing on this continent, which will totally overturn the ideas and the commerce of the old: the opening a canal of communication between the two oceans, and abandoning the mines of Peru. Let the imagination of the philosopher contemplate the consequences. They cannot but be happy for the human race.

In studying the general condition of the United States at the period of the beginning of our independent national life, we find much interesting and illuminating material in the books of foreign travellers, visitors from England and elsewhere. References to many such works, written just before or after the close of the Revolution, will be found in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," viii, 489-491. The accounts of books of travel in the "Literature of American History," edited by J. N. Larned for the American Library Association, should also be consulted. See, too, H. T. Tuckerman's "America and her Commentators." Among such records of American experience and observation are several by intelligent Frenchmen, the most important of which is the well-known work by Brissot, of which two chapters are given in the present leaflet. A few years earlier came the works of Crèvecoeur and the Marquis de Chastellux.

Jean Pierre Brissot was born near Chartres in 1754, and educated for the bar. He was an eager student of history and politics, earned a literary reputation while still very young, spent much time in England, and had important journalistic experience in London as well as in Paris. He became a republican, and took prominent part in the early movements of the French Revolution. He was deeply interested in our own Revolution, defended us from various hostile critics, and came over here in 1788 to study our social and political conditions, writing his book for the purpose of commending our republican experiment to the French people. His general estimate may be inferred from the following passage from his preface:

"O Frenchmen, who wish for this valuable instruction, study the Americans of the present day. Open this book. You will here see to what degree of prosperity the blessings of freedom can elevate the industry of man; how they dignify his nature, and dispose him to universal fraternity. You will here learn by what means liberty is preserved; that the great secret of its duration is in good morals. It is a truth that the observation of the present

\* America will never have enormous cities, like London and Paris, which would absorb the means of industry and vitiate morals. Hence it will result that property will be more equally divided, population greater, manners less corrupted, and industry and happiness more universal.

state of America demonstrates at every step. Thus you will see, in these Travels, the prodigious effects of liberty on morals, on industry and on the amelioration of men. You will see those stern Presbyterians, who, on the first settlement of their country, infected with the gloomy superstitions of Europe, could erect gibbets for those who thought differently from themselves.— you will see them admitting all sects to equal charity and brotherhood, rejecting those superstitions which, to adore the Supreme Being, make martyrs of part of the human race. Thus you will see all the Americans, in whose minds the jealousy of the mother country had disseminated the most absurd prejudices against foreign nations, abjure those prejudices, reject every idea of war, and open the way to a universal confederation of the human race. You will see independent America contemplating no other limits but those of the universe, no other restraint but the laws made by her representatives. You will see them attempting all sorts of speculations : opening the fertile bosom of the soil, lately covered by forests ; tracing unknown seas ; establishing new communications, new markets ; naturalizing, in their own country, those precious manufactures which England had reserved to herself ; and by this accumulation of the means of industry they change the balance that was formerly against America, and turn it to their own advantage. You will see them faithful to their engagements, while their enemies are proclaiming their bankruptcy. You will see them invigorating their minds, and cultivating their virtues ; reforming their government, employing only the language of reason to convince the refractory ; multiplying everywhere moral institutions and patriotic establishments ; and, above all, never separating the idea of public from private virtues. Such is the consoling picture which these Travels will offer to the friend of liberty."

The time of Brissot's visit was just after the Constitutional Convention and while the ratification of the new Constitution was before the different States. Massachusetts had ratified it just before his arrival in Boston. Boston is the first place which he describes. His whole chapter on Boston is here given, as one of the most interesting and representative in the book. He went as far north as Newburyport and Portsmouth, travelled through Massachusetts to Springfield, greatly enjoying the agricultural life and the little villages, visited the principal places in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and spent considerable time in New York and Philadelphia, to which latter place especially he devotes much space. He met Madison, Hamilton, and Jay in New York. He devotes an enthusiastic chapter to his visit to Franklin. He spent three days at Mt. Vernon with Washington, to whom Lafayette had given him an introduction. He writes about the Quakers, who especially appealed to him, about slavery and the condition of the negroes, about prisons, hospitals, education, trade, and agriculture. He talked with men who had been to the Ohio country ; and his closing chapter in the volume devoted to his travels, upon the Western Territory, given in the present leaflet, in which he speculates concerning the future great western expansion of the republic, is one of the most interesting in the book.

Brissot's work was published in Paris in 1791. The first English edition was published in London in 1792 ; the second, revised, in 1794. The first American edition was published in Boston in 1797. This was four years after Brissot's death. The years after his return to Paris from America had been crowded with political activities, accounts of which may be found in the various histories of the French Revolution. With twenty other Girondists, he suffered death under the guillotine, October 30, 1793. A full account of his various writings may be found in the second volume of the 1794 edition of his "Travels in the United States."

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# The Ordinance of 1784

AND JEFFERSON'S SERVICES  
FOR THE NORTHWEST  
TERRITORY.

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REPORT ON GOVERNMENT FOR WESTERN TERRITORY.\*

[MARCH 1, 1784.]

The Committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary Government of the Western territory have agreed to the following resolutions :

Resolved that the territory ceded or to be ceded by Individual States to the United States whensoever the same shall have been purchased of the Indian Inhabitants & offered for sale by the U.S. shall be formed into distinct States bounded in the following manner as nearly as such cessions will admit, that is to say; Northwardly & Southwardly by parallels of latitude so that each state shall comprehend from South to North two degrees of latitude beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees North of the equator, but any territory Northwardly of the 47<sup>th</sup> degree shall make part of the state—next below, and Eastwardly & Westwardly they shall be bounded, those on the Mississippi by that river on one side and the meridian of the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio on the other; and those adjoining on the East by the same meridian on their Western side, and on their eastern by the meridian of the Western cape of the mouth of the Great Kan-haway. And the territory eastward of this last meridian

\* Endorsed: "Report of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase, Mr. Howell. Temporary Government of Western Country Delivered 1 March 1784. Ent'd—Read.—March 3. Monday next assigned for the consideration of this report. March 17. 1784. recommitted." This report is entirely in Jefferson's handwriting.

between the Ohio, Lake Erie & Pennsylvania shall be one state.

That the settlers within the territory so to be purchased & offered for sale shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place for their free males of full age to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution & laws of any one of these states, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature, and to erect, subject to a like alteration counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature.

That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, when, giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointments of time and place to call a Convention of representatives to establish a permanent Constitution & Government for themselves.

Provided that both the temporary & permanent Governments be established on these principles as their basis. 1, That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America. 2, That in their persons, property & territory, they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled and to the articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject. 3, That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states. 4, That their respective Governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen, who holds any hereditary title. 5, That after the year 1800 of the Christian æra, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whenever any of the sd states shall have of free inhabitants as many as shall then be in any one the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by it's delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states: After which the



assent of two thirds of the United States in Congress assembled shall be requisite in all those cases, wherein by the Confederation the assent of nine States is now required. Provided the consent of nine states to such admission may be obtained according to the eleventh of the Articles of Confederation. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said states, after the establishment of their temporary Government, shall have authority to keep a sitting Member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

That the territory Northward of the 45<sup>th</sup> degree, that is to say of the completion of 45° from the Equator & extending to the Lake of the Woods, shall be called SYLVANIA.

That of the territory under the 45<sup>th</sup> & 44<sup>th</sup> degrees that which lies Westward of Lake Michigan shall be called MICHIGANIA, and that which is Eastward thereof within the peninsula formed by the lakes & waters of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair and Erie, shall be called CHERRONESUS, and shall include any part of the peninsula which may extend above the 45<sup>th</sup> degree.

Of the territory under the 43<sup>d</sup> & 42<sup>d</sup> degrees, that to the Westward thro' which the Assenisipi or Rock river runs shall be called ASSENISIPIA, and that to the Eastward in which are the fountains of the Muskingum, the two Miamis of Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Miami of the lake and Sandusky rivers, shall be called METROPOTAMIA.

Of the territory which lies under the 41<sup>st</sup> & 40<sup>th</sup> degrees the Western, thro which the river Illinois runs, shall be called ILLINOIA; that next adjoining to the Eastward SARATOGA, and that between this last & Pennsylvania & extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie shall be called WASHINGTON.

Of the territory which lies under the 39<sup>th</sup> & 38<sup>th</sup> degrees to which shall be added so much of the point of land within the fork of the Ohio & Missisipi as lies under the 37<sup>th</sup> degree, that to the Westward within & adjacent to which are the confluences of the rivers Wabash, Shawanee, Tanisse, Ohio, Illinois, Missisipi & Missouri, shall be called POLYPOTAMIA, and that to the Eastward farther up the Ohio otherwise called the PELISIPI shall be called PELISIPIA.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of Compact, shall be duly executed by the President of the U. S.

in Congress assembled under his hand and the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated, and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original States, & those now newly described unalterable but by the joint consent of the U. S. in Congress assembled and of the particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

REPORT OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WESTERN TERRITORY.\*

[MARCH 22, 1784.]

The Committee to whom was recommitted the report of a plan for a temporary government of the Western territory have agreed to the following resolutions.

Resolved, that so much of the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States as is already purchased or shall be purchased of the Indian inhabitants & offered for sale by Congress, shall be divided into distinct states, in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit; that is to say, by parallels of latitude, so that each state shall comprehend from South to North two degrees of latitude beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees North of the Equator; and by meridians of longitude, one of which shall pass thro' the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio, and the other through the Western Cape of the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, but the territory Eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, Lake Erie, & Pennsylvania shall be one state, whatsoever may be its comprehension of latitude. That which may lie beyond the completion of the 45<sup>th</sup> degree between the sd. meridians shall make part of the state adjoining it on the South, and that part of the Ohio which is between the same meridians coinciding nearly with the parallel of 39° shall be substituted so far in lieu of that parallel as a boundary line.

That the settlers on any territory so purchased & offered for sale shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them with appointments of time & place for their free males of full age, within the limits of

\* Endorsed "Report on Western Territory. Delivered 22 March, 1784. Read. Wednesday 24 assigned for consideration." The original report of a temporary ordinance not satisfying Congress, it was recommitted to the original committee for amendment, and the above was by them reported to Congress. It was considered on April 10, 21, and 23, 1784. when, after amendment, it was adopted, by the vote of every state but one.

their state to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of the original states, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature: & to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature.

That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, when giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointment of time & place to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent Constitution & Government for themselves. Provided that both the temporary & permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis. 1. That they shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America. 2. That in their persons, property & territory they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, & to the articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject. 3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule & measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states. 4. That their respective Governments shall be in republican forms and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title. 5. That after the year 1800 of the Christian æra, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the sd states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whensoever any of the sd states shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by it's delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the said original states: provided nine States agree to such admission according to the reservation of the 11<sup>th</sup> of the articles of Confederation; and in order to adopt the s<sup>d</sup> articles of confederation to the state of Congress when it's numbers shall be thus increased, it shall be proposed to the legislatures of the states originally parties thereto, to require the assent of two thirds of the United

States in Congress assembled in all those cases wherein by the said articles the assent of nine states is now required; which being agreed to by them shall be binding on the new states. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said states after the establishment of their temporary government shall have authority to keep a sitting member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact, shall be duly executed by the president of the United States in Congress assembled, under his hand & the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated & shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original states and each of the several states now newly described, unalterable but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, & of the particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confedn. & necessary for the preservation of peace & good order among the settlers in any of the said new states until they shall assume a temporary Government as aforesaid, may from time to time be taken by the U S in C. assembled.

JEFFERSON'S LETTER, AS GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, TO GENERAL  
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

RICHMOND. December 25th 1780.

SIR,—A powerful army forming by our enemies in the South renders it necessary for us to reserve as much of our militia as possible free to act in that quarter. At the same time we have reason to believe that a very extensive combination of British & indian savages is preparing to invest our western frontier. To prevent the cruel murders and devastations which attend the latter species of war, and at the same time to prevent its producing a powerful diversion of our force from the southern quarter in which they mean to make their principal effort and where alone success can be decisive of their ultimate object, it becomes necessary that we aim the first stroke in the western country and throw the enemy under the embarrassments of a defensive war rather than labor under them ourselves. We have therefore determined that an expedition shall be undertaken under your command at a very

early season of the approaching year into the hostile country beyond the Ohio, the principal object of which is to be the reduction of the British post at Detroit and incidental to it the acquiring possession of Lake Erie. The force destined for this enterprise is the Illinois battalion, Colo Crocket's battalion, Maj Slaughter's corps, with detachments of militia from the Counties of Fayette, Lincoln, Jefferson, Ohio, Monongalia, Hampshire, Berkeley, Frederic and Greenbrier, making in the whole 2000 men. necessary garrisons only to be deducted. Our desire is that the execution of this may be so timed as that you may have the advantage of that interval of time which intervenes between the breaking up of the ice in the Wabache and in the lake so as that you may avail yourself of the navigation of the former the moment it is open for the transportation of your men and baggage and still find the latter blocked up and the vessels of the enemy therein of course liable to be destroyed. That you may be fully possessed of the means which are to be in your hands for the purposes beforementioned, you are furnished with copies of the orders given to the Lieutenants, Commissaries & Quarter Masters in the Counties before mentioned. The substance of them is as follows — Mr. Rowland Madison is employed to carry 1000 of rifle powder from New-London and 1500 lbs of lead from the lead mines to Montgomery Court house. To purchase 300 pack horses with pack saddles, Halters and Bells ready and to lay in subsistence for them and 137 militia from Greenbrier County, who by orders given to the Lieutenant of that County are to rendezvous at Montgomery Court House by the 20th of February, these to take under their escort the ammunition and pack horses before mentioned and to be with them at the falls of Ohio by the 15th day of March. Mr. Madison is furnished with money to purchase the horses and furniture and to lay in subsistence and forage from Montgomery Court House to the falls of Ohio where his duties cease.

Forty bell tents, 40 common tents, a chest of medicine. some summer clothing will be sent from this place; 1000<sup>lb</sup> of Rifle powder from Staunton, 400 campkettles from Fredericksburg to the County Lieutenant of Frederick, who is ordered to send them with 285 of his militia to Pittsburg at which place they are to be the first day of March.

The County Lieutenants of Berkeley and Hampshire are

ordered to send the former 275 and the latter 255 of their respective militias to be at Pittsburg by the first day of March. Proper instructions are prepared for such persons as each of the county Lieutenants of Frederick, Berkeley & Hampshire shall appoint to act in the joint offices of Commissary and Quarter Master to Pittsburg where their offices determine, and money is sent to each for the purposes of subsistence and transportation.

The County Lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio are ordered to rendezvous one fourth of their militia at Pittsburg by the first day of March. All these militia are ordered to go under proper officers well armed with Arms suitable to western service and to serve during the continuance of the expedition as herein described. Colo Crocket is ordered to be with his battalion at Pittsburg by the same day and money to enable him to proceed is sent to him.

An agent is sent to Baltimore and Philadelphia to purchase four tons of canon powder and to send it to Pittsburg by the 1st day of March.

Application is made to Genl Washington to lend us of the Continental stores at Pittsburg 4 canon six pounders mounted on field carriages with ball suitable, a mortar with shells, 2 Howitz, grape shot and other necessary furnitures, 1000 spades, 200 pick axes, 500 axes, a travelling forge, ship carpenter's tools, and boats for transportation down the river should we fail in having a sufficient number in readiness and to send us skilful persons to manage the mortars.

John Francis Moore, who was some time ago sent to purchase in the vicinities of Fort Pitt provisions for the Western Posts, is now ordered to extend his purchases to 200,000 rations of beef and flour, and to provide 100 light Barges fit for transporting men and stores either down or up stream. These to be all in readiness by the 1st of March: as we are not certain whether he may not be gone down the river, these powers were directed to himself, or in case of his absence to any Agent he should have appointed, and if he appointed none, then to Mr William Harrison of Monongalia.

At Pittsburg we depend on orders to be given by you for the removal of men and stores to the Falls of Ohio by the 15 of March.

The County Lieutenants of Fayette, Lincoln and Jefferson

are ordered to rendezvous at the falls of Ohio by the 15 of March 500 of their militia, to be furnished between those Counties in Proportion to their numbers, & have ready at the same place and by the same day 50 canoes each: Money is sent to pay for these. In those counties you inform us you expect 10000 rations will be provided for you; you will of course order them to the falls of Ohio.

All the preceding orders (except as to the number of men from each county) are submitted to any alterations you may think necessary, and you are authorized to supply any deficiencies in them. The Staff Officers are submitted absolutely to you, and on removal of any of them by you or their death, resignation or declining to act you are to appoint others. The County Lieutenants are desired to keep up a constant correspondence with you & the Staff Officers to inform you from time to time of their progress and to receive your orders. Thus you will perceive that we expect all to be in readiness at the Falls of Ohio by the 15th of March.

What number of men and whether of Regulars or Militia you shall leave to garrison the Posts at the falls & Mouth of the Ohio is left to yourself. As the latter however is exposed to attack from an enemy against whom this expedition will be no diversion of force, and as it is distant from succour, it is recommended to you to leave it surely garrisoned and to take measures for its being supported from the Spanish side of the Mississippi should it be necessary.

You will then with such part of your force as you shall not leave in garrison proceed down the Ohio and up the Wabache or along such other route as you shall think best against Detroit. By the construction of a fort or forts for retreat at such place or places as you shall think best, and by such other cautions as you find necessary you will provide for the ultimate safety of your men in case of a repulse. Should you succeed in the reduction of fort Detroit and a hopeful prospect open to you of acquiring possession of Lake Erie, or should such prospect open during the investiture of the fort, you are to pursue it. As soon as you have accomplished both objects of the fort and lake, or shall have accomplished the one and find the other impracticable, or as soon as you shall find that neither is practicable, you are to consider your expedition as ended and to withdraw your whole force. If you attain neither

object, or, if you acquire one or both of them, to retain for a garrison at Detroit so many of the Illinois & Crocket's battalions as you may think necessary and to send the rest back across the Ohio; in the event indeed of declining to attempt the reduction of Detroit you are at liberty to consider whether some enterprise against the hostile nations of Indians may not be undertaken with your force, and if you think it can, and that it will be expedient for the public good, and eligible on view of all circumstances, you will undertake it and detain your force until you shall have finished it: In every event, the militia on their return are to be marched back to their Counties under their own officers and there to be discharged.

Should you succeed in the reduction of the Post, you are to promise protection to the Persons & property of the French and American inhabitants, or of such at least as shall not on tender refuse to take the Oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth. You are to permit them to continue under the laws & form of Government under which they at present live, only substituting the authority of this Commonwealth in all instances in lieu of that of his British Majesty, and exercising yourself under that authority till further order those powers which the British Commandant of the Post or his principal in Canada hath used regularly to exercise. To the Indian neighbours you will hold out either fear or friendship as their disposition and your actual situation may render most expedient.

Finally, our distance from the scene of action, the impossibility of foreseeing the many circumstances which may render proper a change of plan or direction of object, and above all our full confidence in your bravery, discretion & abilities induce us to submit the whole of our instructions to your own judgment, to be altered or abandoned whenever any event shall turn up which may appear to you to render such alteration or abandonment necessary: remembering that we confide to you the persons of our Troops & Citizens which we think it a duty to risque as long as & no longer than the object and prospect of attaining it may seem worthy to risque. If that Post be reduced we shall be quiet in future on our frontier and thereby immense Treasures of blood and money be saved: we shall be at leisure to turn our whole force to the rescue of our eastern Country from subjugation: we shall divert through our own



Country a branch of commerce which the European States have thought worthy of the most important struggles and sacrifices; and in the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers we shall form to the American union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of liberty an extensive and fertile country, thereby converting dangerous enemies into valuable Friends.

JEFFERSON'S LETTER, AS GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, *Transmitting the resolution adopted Jan. 2, 1781, ceding to the United States the lands claimed by Virginia north-west of the Ohio, on condition that the States ratified the Articles of Confederation.*

RICHMOND Jan'y. 17, 1781.

SIR,—I do myself the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a resolution of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth entered into in consequence of the resolution of Congress of September 6th. 1780, on the subject of the Confederation. I shall be rendered very happy if the other States of the Union, equally impressed with the necessity of that important convention, shall be willing to sacrifice equally to its completion. This single event could it take place shortly would outweigh every success which the enemy have hitherto obtained, & render desperate the hopes to which those successes have given birth.

DRAFT OF DEED OF CESSION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY.\*

[MARCH 1, 1784.]

To all who shall see these presents we [here name the delegates] the underwritten delegates for the Commonwealth of Virginia in the Congress of the United States of America send greeting.

Whereas the general assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia at their sessions begun on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of Octob. 1783. passed an Act entituled 'An act to authorise the delegates &c'—

\* The deed as finally executed is in the *Journals of Congress* for March 1, 1784. This rough draft is in Jefferson's handwriting.

in these words following to wit 'Whereas the Congress &c.' [reciting the act verbatim.]

And whereas the sd General Assembly by their Resolution of June 6<sup>th</sup> 1783, had constituted & appointed us the sd A. B. C. &c delegates to represent the sd Commonwealth in Congress for one year from the first Monday in November then next following, which resolution remains in full force.

Now therefore know ye that we the sd A. B. C. &c by virtue of the power & authority committed to us by the act of the sd. General Assembly of Virginia before recited, and in the name & for & on behalf of the sd Commonwealth do by these presents convey, transfer, assign, & make over unto the United States in Congress assembled for the benefit of the sd States, Virginia inclusive, all right, title & claim as well of soil as of jurisdiction which the sd. Commonwealth hath to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia charter, situate, lying & being to the Northwest of the river Ohio to and for the uses & purposes and on the conditions of the sd recited act.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals in Congress the            day of  
in the year of our lord 1784, and of the independance of the United States the eighth.

Signed, sealed and  
delivered in presence of

FROM JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.  
(BENJAMIN HARRISON.)

ANNAPOLIS, Mar. 3. 1784.

On receiving the act of assembly for the Western cession, our delegation agreed on the form of a deed; we then delivered to Congress a copy of the act, and the form of the deed we were ready to execute whenever they should think proper to declare they would accept it. They referred the act & deed to a committee, who reported the act of assembly to comport perfectly with the propositions of Congress, and that the deed was proper in its form, and that Congress ought to accept the same. On the question to agree to the report of the Committee 8 states being present, Jersey was in the negative

& S. Carolina & Pennsylvania divided (being represented each by 2 members). Of course there were 5 ayes only & the report fell. We determined on consultation that our proper duty was to be still; having declared we were ready to execute, we would leave it to them to come forward and tell us they were ready to accept. We meddled not at all therefore, & shewed a perfect indifference. N. Hampshire came to town which made us 9 states. A member proposed that we should execute the deeds & lay it on the table, which after what had been done by Congress would be final, urging the example of N. York which had executed their deed, laid it on the table, where it remained 18 months before Congress accepted it. We replied, no, if the lands are not offered for sale the ensuing spring, they will be taken from us all by adventurers; we will therefore put it out of our power by the execution of a deed to sell them ourselves, if Congress will not. A member from Rhode Island then moved that Congress should accept. Another from Jersey proposed as an amendment a proviso that it should not amount to an acknowledgement of our right. We told them we were not authorised to admit any conditions or provisions, that their acceptance must be simple, absolute & unqualified or we could not execute. On the question there were 6 ayes, Jersey no, S. Carolina & Pennsylvania divided. The motion dropped & the house proceeded to other business. About an hour after the dissenting Pennsylvania asked & obtained leave to change his no into aye; the vote then passed & we executed the deed. We have desired an exemplification of it under the seal of the states which we shall transmit you by the post if no safer opportunity occurs. This shows the wisdom of the assembly in not tacking any new conditions, which would certainly have defeated their accomodating intentions.

#### REPORT ON CESSION OF WESTERN TERRITORY.\*

MARCH 22, 1784.

The Report of a Committee on the Subject of Western territory having been referred to the Grand committee they have had the same under their consideration and agreed to the following report.

\* Written by Jefferson. Endorsed "Report of grand Com<sup>ee</sup> delivered March 22, 1784. Monday 29 assigned for consideration"

Congress by their resolution of Sep. 6. 1780. having thought it advisable to press upon the states having claims to the Western country a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, by that of the 10<sup>th</sup> of Oct. in the same year having fixed conditions to which the Union should be bound on receiving such cessions: and having again proposed the same subject to those States in their address of April 1783, wherein, stating the National debt & expressing their reliance for its discharge on the prospect of vacant territory, in aid of other resources, they, for that purpose, as well as to obviate disagreeable controversies & confusions included, in the same recommendation a renewal of those of Sep. the 6<sup>th</sup> & of Oct. the 10<sup>th</sup> 1780. which several recommendations have not yet been finally complied with.

Resolved, that the same subject be again presented to the attention of the said states, that they be urged to consider that the war being now brought to a happy termination by the personal services of our souldiers, the supplies of property by our citizens, & loans of money from them as well as from foreigners, these several creditors have a right to expect that funds shall be provided on which they may rely for indemnification; that Congress shall consider vacant territory as a capital resource; that this too is the time when our Confederacy with all the territory included within it's limits should assume it's ultimate and permanent form; & that therefore the sd states be earnestly pressed by immediate & liberal cessions to forward these necessary ends, & to remove those obstacles which disturb the harmony of the Union, which embarrass it's councils & obstruct it's operations.

#### JEFFERSON TO WASHINGTON.

ANNAPOLIS, Mar. 15. 1784.

Dr Sir,— Since my last nothing new has occurred. I suppose the crippled state of Congress is not new to you. We have only 9 states present, 8. of whom are represented by two members each, and of course on all great questions not only an unanimity of States but of members is necessary.—an unanimity which never can be obtained on a matter of any importance. The consequence is that we are wasting our time & labour in vain efforts to do business.—Nothing less than

the presence of 13. States, represented by an odd number of delegates will enable us to get forward a single capital point. The deed for the cession of Western territory by Virginia was executed & accepted on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant. I hope our country will of herself determine to cede still further to the meridian of the mouth of the great Kanhaway. Further she cannot govern; so far is necessary for her own well being. The reasons which call for this boundary (which will retain all the waters of the Kanhaway) are 1. That within that are our lead mines. 2. This river rising in N. Carola traverses our whole latitude and offers to every part of it a channel for navigation & commerce to the Western Country, but 3. It is a channel which can not be opened but at immense expense and with every facility which an absolute power over both shores will give. 4. This river & it's waters forms a band of good land passing along our whole frontier, and forming on it a barrier which will be strongly seated. 5. For 180 miles beyond these waters is a mountainous barren which can never be inhabited & will of course form a safe separation between us & any other State. 6. This tract of country lies more convenient to receive it's government from Virginia than from any other State. 7. It will preserve to us all the upper parts of Yohogany & Cheat rivers within which much will be done to open these which are the true doors to the Western commerce. The union of this navigation with that of the Patowmac is a subject on which I mentioned that I would take the liberty of writing to you. I am sure it's value and practicability are both well known to you. This is the moment however for seizing it if ever we mean to have it. All the world is becoming commercial. Was it practicable to keep our new empire separated from them we might indulge ourselves in speculating whether commerce contributes to the happiness of mankind. But we cannot separate ourselves from them. Our citizens have had too full a taste of the comforts furnished by the arts & manufactures to be debarred the use of them. We must then in our defence endeavour to share as large a portion as we can of this modern source of wealth & power. That offered to us from the Western Country is under a competition between the Hudson, the Patowmac & the Missisipi itself. Down the last will pass all heavy commodities. But the navigation through the gulf of Mexico is so dangerous, & that up the Missisipi so difficult

& tedious, that it is not probable that European merchandize will return through that channel. It is most likely that flour, lumber & other heavy articles will be floated on rafts which will be themselves an article of sale as well as their loading, the navigators returning by land or in light batteaux. There will therefore be a rivalship between the Hudson & Patowmac for the residue of the commerce of all the country Westward of L. Erie, on the waters of the lakes, of the Ohio & upper parts of the Missisipi. To go to N. York, that part of the trade which comes from the lakes or their waters must first be brought into L. Erie. So also must that which comes from the waters of the Missisipi, and of course must cross at some portage into the waters of the lakes. When it shall have entered L. Erie it must coast along it's Southern Shore on account of the number & excellence of it's harbours, the Northern, tho' shortest, having few harbours & these unsafe. Having reached Cuyahoga, to proceed on to N. York will be 970 miles from thence & five portages, whereas it is but 430 miles to Alexandria, if it turns into the Cuyahoga & passes through that, Big Beaver, Ohio, Yohogany (or Monongahela & Cheat) & Patowmac, & there are but two portages. For the trade of the Ohio or that which shall come into it from it's own waters or the Missisipi, it is nearer to Alexandria than to New York by 730 miles, and is interrupted by one portage only. Nature then has declared in favour of the Patowmac, and through that channel offers to pour into our lap the whole commerce of the Western world. But unfortunately the channel by the Hudson is already open & known in practice; ours is still to be opened. This is the moment in which the trade of the West will begin to get into motion and to take it's direction. It behoves us then to open our doors to it. I have lately pressed this subject on my friends in the General assembly, proposing to them to endeavor to have a tax laid which shall bring into a separate chest from five to ten thousand pounds a year, to be employed first in opening the upper waters of the Ohio & Patowmac, where a little money & time will do a great deal, leaving the great falls for the last part of the work. To remove the idea of partiality I have suggested the propriety & justice of continuing this fund till all the rivers shall be cleared successively. But a most powerful objection always arises to propositions of this kind. It is that public under-

takings are carelessly managed and much money spent to little purpose. To obviate this objection is the purpose of my giving you the trouble of this discussion. You have retired from public life. You have weighed this determination & it would be impertinence in me to touch it. But would the superintendence of this work break in too much on the sweets of retirement & repose? If they would I stop here. Your future time & wishes are sacred in my eye. If it would be only a dignified amusement to you, what a monument of your retirement would it be! It is one which would follow that of your public life and bespeak it the work of the same great hand. I am confident that would you either alone or jointly with any persons you think proper be willing to direct this business, it would remove the only objection the weight of which I apprehend. Tho' the tax should not come in till the fall, it's proceeds should be anticipated by borrowing from some other fund to enable the work to be begun this summer. When you view me as not owning, nor ever having a prospect of owning one inch of land on any water either of the Patowmac or Ohio, it will tend to apologize for the trouble I have given you of this long letter, by showing that my zeal in this business is public & pure. The best atonement for the time I have occupied you will be not to add to it longer than while I assure you of the sincerity & esteem with which I have the honour to be Dr Sir Your most obedient & most humble servt.

P. S. The hurry of time in my former letter prevented my thanking you for your polite & friendly invitation to Mount Vernon. I shall certainly pay my respects there to Mrs Washington & yourself with great pleasure whenever it shall be in my power.

WASHINGTON TO JEFFERSON.

MOUNT VERNON, 29 March, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

It was not in my power to answer your favor of the 15th by the last post, for the reason then assigned. I wish I may be able to do it to your satisfaction now, as I am again obliged to pay my attention to the other company, the Governor being gone.

My opinion coincides perfectly with yours respecting the practicability of an easy and short communication between the waters of the Ohio and Potomac, of the advantages of that communication and the preference it has over all others, and of the policy there would be in this State and Maryland to adopt and render it facile. But I confess to you freely, I have no expectation, that the public will adopt the measure; for, besides the jealousies which prevail, and the difficulty of proportioning such funds as may be allotted for the purposes you have mentioned, there are two others, which, in my opinion, will be yet harder to surmount. These are (if I have not imbibed too unfavorable an opinion of my countrymen) the impracticability of bringing the great and truly wise policy of the measure to their view, and the difficulty of extracting money from them for such a purpose, if it could be done; for it appears to me, maugre all the sufferings of the public creditors, breach of public faith, and loss of public reputation, that payment of the taxes, which are already laid, will be postponed as long as possible. How then are we to expect new ones for purposes more remote?

I am not so disinterested in this matter as you are; but I am made very happy to find that a man of discernment and liberality, who has no particular interest in the plan, thinks as I do, who have lands in that country, the value of which would be enhanced by the adoption of such a measure.

More than ten years ago I was struck with the importance of it; and, despairing of any aid from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense, on conditions which were expressed, the extension of the navigation from tide water to Will's Creek, about one hundred and fifty miles; and I devoutly wish that this may not be the only expedient by which it can be effected now. To get this business in motion, I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River, in order to remove the jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac. The plan, however, was in a tolerably good train, when I set out for Cambridge in 1775, and would have been in an excellent way, had it not been for the difficulties, which were met with in the Maryland Assembly from the opposition which was given (according to report) by the Baltimore merchants, who were alarmed, and per-



haps not without cause, at the consequence of water transportation to Georgetown of the produce, which usually came to their market by land.

The local interest of that place, joined to the short-sighted politics or contracted views of another part of that Assembly, gave Mr. Thomas Johnson, who was a warm promoter of the scheme on the north side of the Potomac, a great deal of trouble. In this situation I left matters when I took command of the army. The war afterwards called men's attention to different objects, and all the money they could or would raise was applied to other purposes. But with you I am satisfied that not a moment ought to be lost in recommencing this business, as I know the Yorkers will delay no time to remove every obstacle in the way of the other communication, so soon as the posts of Oswego and Niagara are surrendered; and I shall be mistaken if they do not build vessels for the navigation of the lakes, which will supersede the necessity of coasting on either side.

It appears to me, that the interest and policy of Maryland are proportionably concerned with those of Virginia, to remove obstructions, and to invite the trade of the western country into the channel you have mentioned. You will have frequent opportunities of learning the sentiments of the principal characters of that State, respecting this matter; and I wish, if it should fall in your way, that you would discourse with Mr. Thomas Johnson, formerly governor of Maryland, on this subject. How far, upon mature consideration, I may depart from the resolution I had formed, of living perfectly at my ease, exempt from every kind of responsibility, is more than I can at present absolutely determine. The sums granted, the manner of granting them, the powers and objects, would merit consideration. The trouble, if my situation at the time would permit me to engage in a work of this sort, would be set at nought; and the immense advantages, which this country would derive from the measure, would be no small stimulus to the undertaking, if that undertaking could be made to comport with those ideas, and that line of conduct, with which I meant to glide gently down the current of life, and it did not interfere with any other plan I might have in contemplation.

I am not less in sentiment with you, respecting the impolicy of this State's grasping at more territory than they are compe-

tent to the government of; and, for the reasons you assign, I very much approve of a meridian from the mouth of the Great Kenhawa as a convenient and very proper line of separation, but I am mistaken if our chief magistrate will coincide with us in this opinion.

I will not enter upon the subject of commerce. It has its advantages and disadvantages; but which of them preponderates, is not now the question. From trade our citizens will not be restrained, and therefore it behoves us to place it in the most convenient channels under proper regulations, freed as much as possible from those vices, which luxury, the consequence of wealth and power, naturally introduces.

The incertitude, which prevails in Congress, and the non-attendance of its members, are discouraging to those, who are willing and ready to discharge the trust, which is reposed in them; whilst it is disgraceful in a high degree to our country. But it is my belief, that the case will never be otherwise, so long as that body persist in their present mode of doing business, and will hold constant instead of annual sessions; against the former of which my mind furnishes me with a variety of arguments; but not one, in times of peace, in favor of them.

Annual sessions would always produce a full representation, and alertness in business. The delegates, after a separation of eight or ten months, would meet each other with glad countenances. They would be complaisant; they would yield to each other all, that duty to their constituents would allow; and they would have better opportunities of becoming acquainted with their sentiments, and removing improper prejudices, when they are imbibed, by mixing with them during the recess. Men, who are always together, get tired of each other's company; they throw off that restraint, which is necessary to keep things in proper tune; they say and do things, which are personally disgusting; this begets opposition; opposition begets faction; and so it goes on, till business is impeded, often at a stand. I am sure (having the business prepared by proper boards or a committee) an annual session of two months would despatch more business than is now done in twelve, and this by a full representation of the Union.

Long as this letter is, I intended to be more full on some of the points, and to touch on others; but it is not in my power, as I am obliged to snatch from company the moments, which

give you this hasty production of my thoughts on the subject of your letter. With very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

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“Another service, and one of momentous import, associates Jefferson with the famous Ordinance of the Northwestern Territory. That great tract north of the Ohio River, out of which were afterward carved those five free States, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had been tendered by Virginia for the benefit of the whole Confederacy in January, 1781, Jefferson, while governor of the State, transmitting the resolution of its legislature to that effect. The formalities of a transfer had been hitherto delayed; but a deed of cession, bearing date March 1, 1784, was now executed by the Virginia delegates in Congress, with Jefferson at the head. The Confederacy accepted the gift, without admitting Virginia's claim to sole ownership of that region, but anxious to encourage by so sisterly an example the relinquishment of all such territorial claims to the unsettled West for the benefit of the whole Union.

“A few days afterward a committee of Congress, with Jefferson as chairman, prepared a plan for the temporary government of the common Western territory. The draft of their report in Jefferson's handwriting is still among the public archives. The whole wilderness of the Mississippi basin to the eastern bank of that great river, our remotest barrier, was brought into contemplation. This report proposed, accordingly, that whatever domain might vest in the United States at any time by the cession of individual States and by Indian purchase should be formed into distinct States, subject each to a temporary government, until the population sufficed for establishing a permanent local constitution on the basis of self-government; after which, upon the assent of Congress, given as the articles of Confederation required, such State, with not less than twenty thousand inhabitants, should be admitted on an equal footing with the original States.

“Ten temporary States, by a single division of this great area between the thirty-first and forty-seventh parallels, with names and boundaries ready made, made too much for immediate legislation. And one may smile at some of the fanciful appellatives which Jefferson's report labored to bestow so prematurely upon these unborn daughters of the Union. Usage, to be sure, had already dignified such sentimental names as Virginia, Carolina, and even Pennsylvania; but American citizens of our own later time will agree that Michigan sounds better than Michigania, Illinois than Illinoia; and as for Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia, one willingly consigns them to classical lore and the apothecary shop. In most respects, however, the scheme proposed

for these future States was only crude in having to conform to the imperfect plan of union which then existed. Canada or other external colonies might have joined the old thirteen, to be sure, on terms prescribed; but for new States erected from within, these early Articles of Union made no distinct provision. In Jefferson's plan one traces, therefore, the first lines of the method upon which the sublime experiment of State propagation has since proceeded,—at this early date almost a usurpation, but sanctioned and fully provided for in our ampler charter of 1787.

“In each of the new States to be thus erected from the common soil the government was to be republican in form, and slavery was not to exist in any of them after the year 1800. This last fundamental article was the historical one. In all other material portions, except for the romantic names, Jefferson's report was adopted in April; but the clause which ordained freedom was stricken out for want of a majority of States in its favor. Every member from the Northern States voted for it; all but two from the South (Jefferson and Williamson) voted against it. Jefferson's two colleagues arrayed Virginia on the negative side of the question, in spite of him; Williamson divided the vote of North Carolina; New Jersey lost its chance of expression by having but one delegate present; and both Delaware and Georgia, by having no delegates at all. Only six States of the thirteen, in consequence, voted to retain the clause of Jefferson's plan which prohibited slavery.

“Defeat under such qualifying circumstances could not be final and decisive. At a more favorable opportunity, three years later, and while Jefferson himself was abroad, the slavery restriction was renewed in another form, and with reference to the territory north-west of the Ohio alone. That world-renowned Ordinance of 1787 passed, with the aid of Jefferson's Virginia friends, while the framers of a new federal constitution were in session at Philadelphia. The last glorious achievement of the expiring Continental Congress, it was reaffirmed afterward by the first Congress of the new Union, and approved by our first immortal President. No wonder that Nathan Dane and Rufus King, men from anti-slavery States, should have derived lustre from the part they took in preparing and promoting a measure so noble. A tier of energetic States thus erected in the Mississippi Valley gave freedom the vital preponderance in due time by their powerful example. But even here, as in the fundamental verities of our Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's name first blazons the record. He gave the earliest impulse to Congressional regulation, in the common domain, for excluding and forever prohibiting slavery. Freedom, which the Ordinance of 1787 established as partial only and by way of compromise, his earlier ordinance would have made the boon of our whole territorial jurisdiction, south of the Ohio River as well as north. When, about

midway in this nineteenth century, the struggle of hostile systems began in earnest, the party of freedom marched to political victory, baptized by the name of the national party he had once founded, and organized upon the simple platform of the Ordinance of 1787, or territorial exclusion, reaffirmed in its new adaptation as Jefferson's Ordinance. Well would it have been for his own infatuated State and section, in that generation, had they but accepted the instruction of their greatest of political prophets." — *Schouler*.

"The Ordinance of 1787," says Hon. George F. Hoar, "belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title-deeds of American constitutional liberty." "I doubt," said Daniel Webster, "whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character." The Ordinance of 1787 is printed in *Old South Leaflet No. 13*; and the student of the present leaflet is advised to give that a careful reading in connection. The Ordinance of 1787, on the government of the Northwest Territory, came into existence only as the result of long and varied efforts. The first of those efforts was in the Ordinance of 1784, of which Thomas Jefferson was the author; and into that first Ordinance Jefferson inserted a clause forever prohibiting slavery after the year 1800 in the States to be constituted from the Northwest Territory. The toleration until 1800 was reported in deference to the situation of a few old families, chiefly French, who already held slaves in the territory, and were protected by treaty stipulation. This provision was struck out by Congress, to be restored and made binding from the time of its passage in 1787; but it is memorable that it was penned in 1784 by the great author of the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson was one of the earliest and most earnest opponents of slavery. Already in his "Notes on Virginia" he had written: "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God, that they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever." He hoped that a way "was preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation." See the references in the lives of Jefferson by Randall and others to his anti-slavery sentiments and efforts. These were largely what made Abraham Lincoln Jefferson's great disciple. He felt him to be the most eminent political thinker of our history, declaring that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society." Slavery stood opposed to all of Jefferson's fundamental principles, and he hoped in the Ordinance of 1784 to deal it a death-blow. His account, written in 1780, before the Ordinance with the anti-slavery clause was finally passed, of the action of Congress which so bitterly disappointed him, is as follows:—

"There were ten states present. Six voted unanimously for it, three against it, and one was divided; and seven votes being requisite to decide the proposition affirmatively, it was lost. The voice of a single individual of the state which was divided, or of one of those which were of the negative, would have prevented this abominable crime from spreading itself over the new country. Thus we see the fate of millions unborn hanging on the tongue of one man,—and Heaven was silent in that awful moment! But it is to be hoped it will not always be silent and that the friends to the rights of human nature will in the end prevail."

It was largely through Jefferson's efforts that Virginia had ceded to the general government her claims in the Northwest. The act of cession was passed in 1781, while Jefferson was governor. Jefferson's interest in the organization of the Northwest, and his efforts to make the territory the home of freedom, were the sequel of years of activity devoted to the securing of the territory for the United States and the opening of it to enterprising settlers from the East. Jefferson, as a member of the Council of Virginia in 1778, was one of the most earnest supporters of George Rogers Clark in his famous expedition into the Ohio country, which led to the overcoming of the British garrisons and the conquest of so large a part of that territory. See Clark's account of the Capture of Vincennes in *Old South Leaflet No. 43*. It was because, owing to Clark's conquest, the country between the Ohio and the Mississippi was actually held by us at the close of the war that it was possible for us to secure, in the Treaty of Paris, the concession of the Mississippi instead of the Ohio as our western boundary. Clark was a native of Jefferson's own county, and Jefferson held him in high esteem. His Memoirs were written, years afterwards, at Jefferson's request. Clark's account of the capture of Vincennes was sent to Jefferson, who enclosed it to Washington in a letter dated June 19, 1779. Jefferson then having become governor of Virginia. Clark named the fort which he established just below the mouth of the Ohio early in 1780

Fort Jefferson. Jefferson was anxious that Clark should push his conquests still further north, including Detroit; and he carefully planned the new expedition, which, owing to changes in the campaign, was not carried out. His letters to Washington, dated Sept. 26 and Dec. 15, 1780, soliciting co-operation, should be consulted. His letter of instructions to Clark himself, Dec. 25, 1780, is included in the present leaflet. One of the closing sentences is a noteworthy revelation of Jefferson's prescience as to the great significance of Clark's activities with reference to the future of the Northwest: "In the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers, we shall form to the American Union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the empire of liberty an extensive and fertile country, thereby converting dangerous enemies into valuable friends." Concerning the literature relating to Clark's work, see the references in Leaflet No. 43. See also Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," William H. English's "Conquest of the Northwest," and Winson's "The Westward Movement," the latter especially containing many references to Jefferson's varied services in the opening of the West.

An important chapter in the history of Jefferson's services for the Northwest is that to which belongs the correspondence with Washington in 1784, printed in the present leaflet. Washington's own great services in opening up the Ohio country and uniting it with the East are more fully illustrated in his Letter to Benjamin Harrison and other papers published in Old South Leaflet No. 16. Jefferson's warm interest is expressed in a still earlier letter to Washington than that here given. Just before writing this letter to Washington, he had in a letter to Madison, Feb. 26, 1784, gone over much the same ground. In this letter, written from the Federal capital, he laments the narrow, local views taken by many of the political people in Virginia. "I see the best effects produced by sending our young statesmen here. They see the affairs of the Confederacy from a high ground; they learn the importance of the Union, and betriend federal measures when they return. Those who never come here see our affairs insulated, pursue a system of jealousy and self-interest, and distract the Union as much as they can."

Early in his Presidency, Jefferson became the chief agent in what was perhaps a still more important chapter in the history of our westward expansion than the opening and organization of the Northwest Territory,—the Louisiana Purchase. The papers illustrating his activity in that important transaction are published in Leaflet No. 128. Immediately afterwards he sent out the famous expedition under Lewis and Clark (a brother of George Rogers Clark), which ascended the Missouri River to its sources and explored the valley of the Columbia to the Pacific, thus strengthening our claim to the Oregon country. Jefferson wrote a brief life of Captain Meriwether Lewis, which is published in Old South Leaflet No. 44.

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# The Cession of Louisiana.

## TREATY WITH FRANCE FOR THE CESSION OF LOUISIANA.

The President of the United States of America, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, desiring to remove all source of misunderstanding relative to objects of discussion mentioned in the second and fifth articles of the convention of the 8th Vendémiaire, an 9 (30th September, 1800) relative to the rights claimed by the United States, in virtue of the treaty concluded at Madrid, the 27th of October, 1795, between his Catholic Majesty and the said United States, and willing to strengthen the union and friendship which at the time of the said convention was happily re-established between the two nations, have respectively named their Plenipotentiaries, to wit: the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said States, Robert R. Livingston, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, and James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the said States, near the Government of the French Republic; and the First Consul, in the name of the French people, Citizen Francis Barbé Marbois, Minister of the Public Treasury: who, after having respectively exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

### ARTICLE I.

Whereas by the article the third of the treaty concluded at St. Idelfonso, the 9th Vendémiaire, an 9 (1st October, 1800,) between the First Consul of the French Republic and His Cath-

olic Majesty, it was agreed as follows: "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part, to cede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." And whereas, in pursuance of the treaty, and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestable title to the domain and to the possession of the said territory: The First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the said United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty, concluded with His Catholic Majesty.

## ARTICLE II.

In the cession made by the preceding article are included the adjacent islands belonging to Louisiana, all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private property. The archives, papers, and documents, relative to the domain and sovereignty of Louisiana and its dependences, will be left in the possession of the commissaries of the United States, and copies will be afterwards given in due form to the magistrates and municipal officers of such of the said papers and documents as may be necessary to them.

## ARTICLE III.

The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.



## ARTICLE IV.

There shall be sent by the Government of France a commissary to Louisiana, to the end that he do every act necessary, as well to receive from the officers of His Catholic Majesty the said country and its dependences, in the name of the French Republic, if it has not been already done, as to transmit it in the name of the French Republic to the commissary or agent of the United States.

## ARTICLE V.

Immediately after the ratification of the present treaty by the President of the United States, and in case that of the First Consul shall have been previously obtained, the commissary of the French Republic shall remit all military posts of New Orleans, and other parts of the ceded territory, to the commissary or commissaries named by the President to take possession; the troops, whether of France or Spain, who may be there, shall cease to occupy any military post from the time of taking possession, and shall be embarked as soon as possible, in the course of three months after the ratification of this treaty.

## ARTICLE VI.

The United States promise to execute such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the tribes and nations of Indians, until, by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes or nations, other suitable articles shall have been agreed upon.

## ARTICLE VII.

As it is reciprocally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to encourage the communication of both nations for a limited time in the country ceded by the present treaty, until general arrangements relative to the commerce of both nations may be agreed on; it has been agreed between the contracting parties, that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce and manufactures of France or her said colonies; and the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain or

her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the port of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain, or any of their colonies, without being subject to any other or greater duty on merchandise, or other or greater tonnage than that paid by the citizens of the United States.

During the space of time above mentioned, no other nation shall have a right to the same privileges in the ports of the ceded territory; the twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of ratifications, if it shall take place in France, or three months after it shall have been notified at Paris to the French Government, if it shall take place in the United States; it is however well understood that the object of the above article is to favor the manufactures, commerce, freight, and navigation of France and of Spain, so far as relates to the importations that the French and Spanish shall make into the said ports of the United States, without in any sort affecting the regulations that the United States may make concerning the exportation of the produce and merchandise of the United States, or any right they may have to make such regulations.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

In future and forever after the expiration of the twelve years, the ships of France shall be treated upon the footing of the most favored nations in the ports above mentioned.

#### ARTICLE IX.

The particular convention signed this day by the respective ministers, having for its object to provide for the payment of debts due to the citizens of the United States by the French Republic prior to the 30th Sept., 1800, (8th Vendémiaire, an 9,) is approved, and to have its execution in the same manner as if it had been inserted in this present treaty; and it shall be ratified in the same form and in the same time, so that the one shall not be ratified distinct from the other.

Another particular convention signed at the same date as the present treaty relative to a definitive rule between the contracting parties is in the like manner approved, and will be ratified in the same form, and in the same time, and jointly.

## ARTICLE X.

The present treaty shall be ratified in good and due form and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months after the date of the signature by the Ministers Plenipotentiary, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed these articles in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless that the present treaty was originally agreed to in the French language; and have thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Paris the tenth day of Floréal, in the eleventh year of the French Republic, and the 30th of April, 1803.

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON.	[L.S.]
JAS. MONROE.	[L.S.]
F. BARBÉ MARBOIS.	[L.S.]

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 JEFFERSON TO LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, Apr. 18, 1802.

*Dear Sir,* A favorable and a confidential opportunity offering by Mr. Dupont de Nemours, who is revisiting his native country gives me an opportunity of sending you a cipher to be used between us, which will give you some trouble to understand, but, once understood, is the easiest to use, the most indecipherable, and varied by a new key with the greatest facility of any one I have ever known. I am in hopes the explanation inclosed will be sufficient. . . . But writing by Mr. Dupont I need no cipher. I require from him to put this into your own and no other hand, let the delay occasioned by that be what it will.

The session of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the U. S. On this subject the Secretary of State has written to you fully. Yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes in my mind. It compleatly reverses all the political relations of the U. S. and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all nations of any consideration France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could have any conflict of right, and the most points of a communion of interests. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our *natural*

*friend*, as one with which we never could have an occasion of difference. Her growth therefore we viewed as our own, her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half our inhabitants. France placing herself in that door assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific dispositions, her feeble state, would induce her to increase our facilities there, so that her possession of the place would be hardly felt by us, and it would not perhaps be very long before some circumstance might arise which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her. Not so can it ever be in the hands of France. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, and our character, which though quiet, and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury, enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth, these circumstances render it impossible that France and the U. S. can continue long friends when they meet in so irritable a position. They as well as we must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of N. Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high grounds: and having formed and cemented together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us, as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect. It

is not from a fear of France that we deprecate this measure proposed by her. For however greater her force is than ours compared in the abstract, it is nothing in comparison of ours when to be exerted on our soil. But it is from a sincere love of peace, and a firm persuasion that bound to France by the interests and the strong sympathies still existing in the minds of our citizens, and holding relative positions which ensure their continuance we are secure of a long course of peace. Whereas the change of friends, which will be rendered necessary if France changes that position, embarks us necessarily as a belligerent power in the first war of Europe. In that case France will have held possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her. Will this short-lived possession have been an equivalent to her for the transfer of such a weight into the scale of her enemy? Will not the amalgamation of a young, thriving nation continue to that enemy the health and force which are at present so evidently on the decline? And will a few years possession of N. Orleans add equally to the strength of France? She may say she needs Louisiana for the supply of her West Indies. She does not need it in time of peace. And in war she could not depend on them because they would be so easily intercepted. I should suppose that all these considerations might in some proper form be brought into view of the government of France. Tho' stated by us, it ought not to give offence; because we do not bring them forward as a menace, but as consequences not controulable by us, but inevitable from the course of things. We mention them not as things which we desire by any means, but as things we deprecate, and we beseech a friend to look forward and to prevent them for our common interests.

If France considers Louisiana however as indispensable for her views she might perhaps be willing to look about for arrangements which might reconcile it to our interests. If anything could do this it would be the ceding to us the island of New Orleans and the Floridas. This would certainly in a great degree remove the causes of jarring and irritation between us, and perhaps for such a length of time as might produce other means of making the measure permanently conciliatory to our interests and friendships. It would at any rate relieve us from the necessity of taking immediate measures for countervailing such an operation by arrangements in another quarter. Still

we should consider N. Orleans and the Floridas as equivalent for the risk of a quarrel with France produced by her vicinage. I have no doubt you have urged these considerations on every proper occasion with the government where you are. They are such as must have effect if you can find the means of producing thorough reflection on them by that government. The idea here is that the troops sent to St. Domingo, were to proceed to Louisiana after finishing their work in that island. If this were the arrangement. it will give you time to return again and again to the charge, for the conquest of St. Domingo will not be a short work. It will take considerable time to wear down a great number of souldiers. Every eye in the U. S. is now fixed on this affair of Louisiana. Perhaps nothing since the revolutionary war has produced more uneasy sensations through the body of the nation. Notwithstanding temporary bickerings have taken place with France, she has still a strong hold on the affections of our citizens generally. I have thought it not amiss, by way of supplement to the letters of the Secretary of State, to write you this private one to impress you with the importance we affix to this transaction. I pray you to cherish Dupont. He has the best dispositions for the continuance of friendship between the two nations, and perhaps you may be able to make a good use of him. Accept assurances of my affectionate esteem and high consideration.

#### JEFFERSON TO MONROE.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1803.

*Dear Sir,*—I dropped you a line on the 10th informing you of a nomination I had made of you to the Senate, and yesterday I enclosed you their approbation, not then having time to write. The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposit at N. Orleans is extreme. In the western country it is natural and grounded on honest motives. In the seaports it proceeds from a desire for war which increases the mercantile lottery; in the federalists generally and especially those of Congress the object is to force us into war if possible, in order to derange our finances, or if this cannot be done, to attach the western country to them, as their best friends, and thus get again into power. Remonstrances memorials &c. are now circulating through the whole of the western country and signing by the body of the people. The

measures we have been pursuing being invisible, do not satisfy their minds. Something sensible therefore was become necessary: and indeed our object of purchasing N. Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes, that no instructions could be squared to fit them, it was essential then to send a minister extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers, first however well impressed with all our views and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in full and frequent oral communications. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions among the republicans as to the person. You possess the unlimited confidence of the administration and of the western people: and generally of the republicans everywhere; and were you to refuse to go, no other man can be found who does this. The measure has already silenced the Feds. here. Congress will no longer be agitated by them: and the country will become calm as fast as the information extends over it. All eyes, all hopes, are now fixed on you: and were you to decline, the chagrin would be universal, and would shake under your feet the high ground on which you stand with the public. Indeed I know nothing which would produce such a shock, for on the event of this mission depends the future destinies of this republic. If we cannot by a purchase of the country insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then as war cannot be distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it, and it may be necessary (on your failure on the continent) to cross the channel.

We shall get entangled in European politics, and figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission. I am sensible after the measures you have taken for getting into a different line of business, that it will be a great sacrifice on your part, and presents from the season and other circumstances serious difficulties. But some men are born for the public. Nature by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped with the evidences of her destination and their duty. . . .

As to the time of your going you cannot too much hasten it, as the moment in France is critical. St. Domingo delays their taking possession of Louisiana, and they are in the last distress

for money for current purposes. You should arrange your affairs for an absence of a year at least, perhaps for a long one. It will be necessary for you to stay here some days on your way to New York. You will receive here what advance you chuse. Accept assurances of my constant and affectionate attachment.

JEFFERSON TO M. DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1803.

*Dear Sir,*—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of Aug 16 and Oct 4. And the latter I received with peculiar satisfaction; because, while it holds up terms which cannot be entirely yielded, it proposes such as a mutual spirit of accommodation and sacrifice of opinion may bring to some point of union. While we were preparing on this subject such modifications of the propositions of your letter of Oct 4, as we could assent to, an event happened which obliged us to adopt measures of urgency. The suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, ceded to us by our treaty with Spain, threw our whole country into such a ferment as imminently threatened its peace. This, however, was believed to be the act of the Intendant, unauthorized by his government. But it showed the necessity of making effectual arrangements to secure the peace of the two countries against the indiscreet acts of subordinate agents. The urgency of the case, as well as the public spirit, therefore induced us to make a more solemn appeal to the justice and judgment of our neighbors, by sending a minister extraordinary to impress them with the necessity of some arrangement. Mr. Monroe has been selected. His good dispositions cannot be doubted. Multiplied conversations with him, and views of the subject taken in all the shapes in which it can present itself, have possessed him with our estimates of everything relating to it, with a minuteness which no written communication to Mr. Livingston could ever have attained. These will prepare them to meet and decide on every form of proposition which can occur, without awaiting new instructions from hence, which might draw to an indefinite length a discussion where circumstances imperiously oblige us to a prompt decision. For the occlusion of the Mississippi is a state of things in which we cannot exist. He goes, therefore, joined with Chancellor Livingston, to aid in the issue of a crisis the most important the



U S have ever met since their independence, and which is to decide their future character & career. The confidence which the government of France reposes in you will undoubtedly give great weight to your information. An equal confidence on our part, founded on your knowledge of the subject, your just views of it, your good dispositions towards this country, and my long experience of your personal faith and friendship, assures me that you will render between us all the good offices in your power. The interests of the two countries being absolutely the same as to this matter, your aid may be conscientiously given. It will often perhaps, be possible for you, having a freedom of communication, *omnibus horis*, which diplomatic gentlemen will be excluded from by forms, to smooth difficulties by representations & reasonings, which would be received with more suspicion from them. You will thereby render great good to both countries. For our circumstances are so imperious as to admit of no delay as to our course: and the use of the Mississippi so indispensable, that we cannot hesitate one moment to hazard our existence for its maintenance. If we fail in this effort to put it beyond the reach of accident, we see the destinies we have to run, and prepare at once for them. Not but that we shall still endeavor to go on in peace and friendship with our neighbors as long as we can, *if our rights of navigation & deposit are respected*; but as we foresee that the caprices of the local officers, and the abuse of those rights by our boatmen & navigators, which neither government can prevent, will keep up a state of irritation which cannot long be kept inactive, we should be criminally improvident not to take at once eventual measures for strengthening ourselves for the contest. It may be said, if this object be so all-important to us, why do we not offer such a sum as to insure its purchase? The answer is simple. We are an agricultural people, poor in money, and owing great debts. These will be falling due by instalments for 15. years to come, and require from us the practice of a rigorous economy to accomplish their payment; and it is our principle to pay to a moment whatever we have engaged, and never to engage what we cannot, and mean not faithfully to pay. We have calculated our resources, and find the sum to be moderate which they would enable us to pay, and we know from late trials that little can be added to it by borrowing. The country, too, which we wish to purchase, except the portion already granted, and which must be confirmed to the pri-

vate holders, is a barren sand 600. miles from east to west, & from 30. to 40. & 50. miles from north to south, formed by deposition of the sands by the Gulf Stream in its circular course round the Mexican Gulf, and which being spent after performing a semicircle, has made from its last depositions the sand bank of East Florida. In West Florida, indeed, there are on the borders of the rivers some rich bottoms, formed by the mud brought from the upper country. These bottoms are all possessed by individuals. But the spaces between river and river are mere banks of sand; and in East Florida there are neither rivers, nor consequently any bottoms. We cannot then make anything by a sale of the lands to individuals. So that it is peace alone which makes it an object with us, and which ought to make the cession of it desirable to France. Whatever power, other than ourselves, holds the country east of the Mississippi becomes our natural enemy. Will such a possession do France as much good, as such an enemy may do her harm? And how long would it be hers, were such an enemy, situated at its door, added to G Britain? I confess, it appears to me as essential to France to keep at peace with us, as it is to us to keep at peace with her; and that, if this cannot be secured without some compromise as to the territory in question, it will be useful for both to make some sacrifices to effect the compromise.

You see, my good friend, with what frankness I communicate with you on this subject; that I hide nothing from you and that I am endeavoring to turn our private friendship to the good of our respective countries. And can private friendship ever answer a nobler end than by keeping two nations at peace, who, if this new position which one of them is taking were rendered innocent, have more points of common interest, and fewer of collision, than any two on earth; who become natural friends, instead of natural enemies, which this change of position would make them. My letters of April 25, May 5, and this present one have been written, without any disguise, in this view: and, while safe in your hands they can never do anything but good. But you and I are now at that time of life when our call to another state of being cannot be distant, and may be near. Besides, your government is in the habit of seizing papers without notice. These letters might thus get into hands, which, like the hornet which extracts poison from the same flower that yields honey to the bee, might make them

the ground of blowing up a flame between our two countries, and make our friendship and confidence in each other effect exactly the reverse of what we are aiming at. Being yourself thoroughly possessed of every idea in them, let me ask from your friendship an immediate consignment of them to the flames. That alone can make all safe and ourselves secure.

I intended to have answered you here, on the subject of your agency in the transacting what money matters we may have at Paris, and for that purpose meant to have conferred with Mr. Gallatin. But he has, for two or three days been confined to his room, and is not yet able to do business. If he is out before Mr. Monroe's departure, I will write an additional letter on that subject. Be assured that it will be a great additional satisfaction to me to render services to yourself & sons by the same acts which shall at the same time promote the public service. Be so good as to present my respectful salutations to Made. Dupont, & to accept yourself assurances of my constant and affectionate friendship and great respect.

#### JEFFERSON TO LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1803.

*Dear Sir.*—My last to you was by Mr. Dupont. Since that I received yours of May 22. Mr. Madison supposes you have written a subsequent one which has never come to hand. A late suspension by the Intendant of N Orleans of our right of deposit there, without which the right of navigation is impracticable, has thrown this country into such a flame of hostile disposition as can scarcely be described. The western country was peculiarly sensible to it as you may suppose. Our business was to take the most effectual pacific measures in our power to remove the suspension, and at the same time to persuade our countrymen that pacific measures would be the most effectual and the most speedily so. The opposition caught it as a plank in a shipwreck, hoping it would enable them to tack the Western people to them. They raised the cry of war, were intriguing in all the quarters to exasperate the Western inhabitants to arm & go down on their own authority & possess themselves of New Orleans, and in the meantime were daily reiterating, in new shapes, inflammatory resolutions for the adoption of the House. As a remedy to all this we determined to name a minister extraordinary to go immediately to Paris & Madrid to

settle this matter. This measure being a visible one, and the person named peculiarly proper with the Western country, crushed at once & put an end to all further attempts on the Legislature. From that moment all has become quiet; and the more readily in the Western country, as the sudden alliance of these new federal friends had of itself already began to make them suspect the wisdom of their own course. The measure was moreover proposed from another cause. We must know at once whether we can acquire N Orleans or not. We are satisfied nothing else will secure us against a war at no distant period; and we cannot press this reason without beginning those arrangements which will be necessary if war is hereafter to result. For this purpose it was necessary that the negotiators should be fully possessed of every idea we have on the subject, so as to meet the propositions of the opposite party, in whatever form they may be offered: and give them a shape admissible by us without being obliged to await new instructions hence. With this view, we have joined Mr. Monroe to yourself at Paris, & to Mr. Pinkney at Madrid, altho' we believe it will be hardly necessary for him to go to this last place. Should we fail in this object of the mission, a further one will be superadded for the other side of the channel. On this subject you will be informed by the Secretary of State, & Mr. Monroe will be able also to inform you of all our views and purposes. By him I send another letter to Dupont, whose aid may be of the greatest service, as it will be divested of the shackles of form. The letter is left open for your perusal, after which I wish a wafer stuck in it before it be delivered. The official and the verbal communications to you by Mr. Monroe will be so full and minute, that I need not trouble you with an inofficial repetition of them. The future destinies of our country hang on the event of this negotiation, and I am sure they could not be placed in more able or more zealous hands. On our parts we shall be satisfied that what you do not effect, cannot be effected. Accept therefore assurances of my sincere & constant affection and high respect.

## JEFFERSON TO HORATIO GATES.

WASHINGTON, July 11. '03.

*Dear General.*—I accept with pleasure, and with pleasure reciprocate your congratulations on the acquisition of Louisiana: for it is a subject of mutual congratulations as it interests every man of the nation. The territory acquired, as it includes all the waters of the Missouri & Mississippi, has more than doubled the area of the U. S. and the new part is not inferior to the old in soil, climate, productions & important communications. If our legislature dispose of it with the wisdom we have a right to expect, they may make it the means of tempting all our Indians on the East side of the Mississippi to remove to the West, and of condensing instead of scattering our population. I find our opposition is very willing to pluck feathers from Monroe, although not fond of sticking them into Livingston's coat. The truth is both have a just portion of merit and were it necessary or proper it could be shewn that each has rendered peculiar service, & of important value. These grumblers too are very uneasy lest the administration should share some little credit for the acquisition, the whole of which they ascribe to the accident of war. They would be cruelly mortified could they see our files from April 1801, the first organization of the administration, but more especially from April 1802. They would see that tho' we could not say when war would arise, yet we said with energy what would take place when it should arise. We did not, by our intrigues, produce the war: but we availed ourselves of it when it happened. The other party saw the case now existing on which our representations were predicted, and the wisdom of timely sacrifice. But when these people make the war give us everything, they authorize us to ask what the war gave us in their day? They had a war. What did they make it bring us? Instead of making our neutrality the grounds of gain to their country, they were for plunging into the war. And if they were now in place, they would not be at war against the Allies & disorganizers of France. They were for making their country an appendage to England. We are friendly, cordially and conscientiously friendly to England, but we are not hostile to France. We will be rigorously just and sincerely friendly to both. I do not believe we shall have as much to swallow from them as our predecessors had.

With respect to the territory acquired, I do not think it will be a separate government as you imagine. I presume the island of N. Orleans and the settled country on the opposite bank, will be annexed to the Mississippi territory. We shall certainly endeavor to introduce the American laws there & that cannot be done but by amalgamating the people with such a body of Americans as may take the lead in legislation & government. Of course they will be under the Governor of Mississippi. The rest of the territory will probably be locked up from American settlement, and under the self-government of the native occupants.

JEFFERSON TO J. C. BRECKENRIDGE.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 12, '03.

*Dear Sir,*—The enclosed letter, tho' directed to you, was intended to me also, and was left open with a request, that when perused, I would forward it to you. It gives me occasion to write a word to you on the subject of Louisiana, which being a new one, an interchange of sentiments may produce correct ideas before we are to act on them.

Our information as to the country is very incomplete: we have taken measures to obtain it in full as to the settled part, which I hope to receive in time for Congress. The boundaries, which I deem not admitting question, are the high lands on the western side of the Missisipi enclosing all it's waters, the Missouri of course, and terminating in the line drawn from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Missipi, as lately settled between Gr Britain and the U S. We have some claims, to extend on the sea coast Westwardly to the Rio Norte or Bravo, and better, to go Eastwardly to the Rio Perdido, between Mobile & Pensacola, the antient boundary of Louisiana. These claims will be a subject of negociation with Spain, and if, as soon as she is at war, we push them strongly with one hand, holding out a price in the other, we shall certainly obtain the Floridas, and all in good time. In the meanwhile, without waiting for permission, we shall enter into the exercise of the natural right we have always insisted on with Spain, to wit. that of a nation holding the upper part of streams, having a right of innocent passage thro' them to the ocean. We shall prepare her to see us practise on this, & she will not oppose it by force.

Objections are raising to the Eastward against the vast extent of our boundaries, and propositions are made to exchange Louisiana, or a part of it, for the Floridas. But, as I have said, we shall get the Floridas without, and I would not give one inch of the waters of the Mississippi to any nation, because I see in a light very important to our peace the exclusive right to it's navigation, & the admission of no nation into it, but as into the Potomak or Delaware, with our consent & under our police. These federalists see in this acquisition the formation of a new confederacy, embracing all the waters of the Missipi, on both sides of it, and a separation of it's Eastern waters from us. These combinations depend on so many circumstances which we cannot foresee, that I place little reliance on them. We have seldom seen neighborhood produce affection among nations. The reverse is almost the universal truth. Besides, if it should become the great interest of those nations to separate from this, if their happiness should depend on it so strongly as to induce them to go through that convulsion, why should the Atlantic States dread it? But especially why should we, their present inhabitants, take side in such a question? When I view the Atlantic States, procuring for those on the Eastern waters of the Missipi friendly instead of hostile neighbors on it's Western waters, I do not view it as an Englishman would the procuring future blessings for the French nation, with whom he has no relations of blood or affection. The future inhabitants of the Atlantic & Missipi States will be our sons. We leave them in distinct but bordering establishments. We think we see their happiness in their union, & we wish it. Events may prove it otherwise: and if they see their interest in separation, why should we take side with our Atlantic rather than our Missipi descendants? It is the elder and the younger son differing. God bless them both, & keep them in union, if it be for their good, but separate them, if it be better. The inhabited part of Louisiana, from Point Coupée to the sea, will of course be immediately a territorial government, and soon a State. But above that, the best use we can make of the country for some time, will be to give establishments in it to the Indians on the East side of the Missipi, in exchange for their present country, and open land offices in the last, & thus make this acquisition the means of filling up the Eastern side, instead of drawing off it's population. When we shall be full on this side, we may lay off a range of States on the Western bank

from the head to the mouth, & so, range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply.

This treaty must of course be laid before both Houses, because both have important functions to exercise respecting it. They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying & paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to *the nation* for an additional article to the Constitution, approving & confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, have done an act beyond the Constitution. The Legislature in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify & pay for it, and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it. It is the case of a guardian, investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory: & saying to him when of age, I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you: you may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can: I thought it my duty to risk myself for you. But we shall not be disavowed by the nation, and their act of indemnity will confirm & not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines.

JEFFERSON TO JOHN DICKINSON.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 9. 1803.

*Dear Sir,*—Your friendly favor of the 1st inst. is received with that welcome which always accompanies the approbation of the wise & good. The acquisition of New Orleans would of itself have been a great thing, as it would have ensured to our western brethren the means of exporting their produce: but that of Louisiana is inappreciable, because, giving us the sole dominion of the Mississippi, it excludes those bickerings with foreign powers, which we know of a certainty would have put us at war with France immediately: and it secures to us the course of a peaceable nation.

The *unquestioned* bounds of Louisiana are the Iberville &



Mississippi on the east, the Mexicana, or the Highlands east of it, on the west; then from the head of the Mexicana gaining the highlands which include the waters of the Mississippi, and following those highlands round the head springs of the western waters of the Mississippi to its source where we join the English or perhaps to the Lake of the Woods. This may be considered as a triangle, one leg of which is the length of the Missouri, the other of the Mississippi, and the hypotenuse running from the source of the Missouri to the mouth of the Mississippi. I should be averse to exchanging any part of this for the Floridas, because it would let Spain into the Mississippi on the principle of natural right; we have always urged & are now urging to her, that a nation inhabiting the upper part of a stream has a right of innocent passage down that stream to the ocean: and because the Floridas will fall to us peaceably the first war Spain is engaged in. We have some pretensions to extend the western territory of Louisiana to the Rio Norte or Bravo; and still stronger the eastern boundary to the Rio Perdido between the rivers Mobile & Pensacola. These last are so strong that France had not relinquished them & our negotiator expressly declared we should claim them; by properly availing ourselves of these with offers of a price, and our peace, we shall get the Floridas in good time. But in the meantime we shall enter on the exercise of the right of passing down all the rivers which rising in our territory, run thro' the Floridas. Spain will not oppose it by force. But there is a difficulty in this acquisition which presents a handle to the malcontents among us, though they have not yet discovered it. Our confederation is certainly confined to the limits established by the revolution. The general government has no powers but such as the constitution has given it; and it has not given it a power of holding foreign territory, & still less of incorporating it into the Union. An amendment of the Constitution seems necessary for this. In the meantime we must ratify & pay our money, as we have treated, for a thing beyond the constitution, and rely on the nation to sanction an act done for its great good, without its previous authority. With respect to the disposal of the country, we must take the island of New Orleans and west side of the river as high up as Point Coupee, containing nearly the whole inhabitants, say about 50,000, and erect it into a state, or annex it to the Mississippi territory: and shut up all the rest from settlement for a long time to

come, endeavoring to exchange some of the country there unoccupied by Indians for the lands held by the Indians on this side the Mississippi, who will be glad to cede us their country here for an equivalent there: and we may sell out our lands here & pay the whole debt contracted before it comes due. The impost which will be paid by the inhabitants ceded will pay half the interest of the price we give: so that we really add only half the price to our debt. I have indulged myself in these details because the subject being new, it is advantageous to interchange ideas on it and to get our notions all corrected before we are obliged to act on them. In this idea I receive & shall receive with pleasure anything which may occur to you. Accept my affectionate salutations & assurances of my constant & great esteem & respect.

FROM JEFFERSON'S THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

OCTOBER 17, 1803.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: —*

In calling you together, fellow-citizens, at an earlier day than was contemplated by the act of the last session of Congress, I have not been insensible to the personal inconveniences necessarily resulting from an unexpected change in your arrangements. But matters of great public concernment have rendered this call necessary, and the interest you feel in these will supersede in your minds all private considerations.

Congress witnessed, at their last session, the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made according to treaty. They were sensible that the continuance of that privation would be more injurious to our nation than any consequences which could flow from any mode of redress, but reposing just confidence in the good faith of the government whose officer had committed the wrong, friendly and reasonable representations were resorted to, and the right of deposit was restored.

Previous, however, to this period, we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed while so important a key to the commerce of the western

country remained under foreign power. Difficulties, too, were presenting themselves as to the navigation of other streams, which, arising within our territories, passed through those adjacent. Propositions had, therefore, been authorized for obtaining, on fair conditions, the sovereignty of New Orleans, and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet, to such extent as was deemed practicable: and the provisional appropriation of two millions of dollars, to be applied and accounted for by the president of the United States, intended as part of the price, was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened government of France saw, with just discernment, the importance to both nations of such liberal arrangements as might best and permanently promote the peace, friendship, and interests of both; and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana, which had been restored to them, have on certain conditions been transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last. When these shall have received the constitutional sanction of the senate, they will without delay be communicated to the representatives also, for the exercise of their functions, as to those conditions which are within the powers vested by the constitution in Congress. While the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the western States, and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide-spread field for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.

With the wisdom of Congress it will rest to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country: for its incorporation into our Union: for rendering the change of government a blessing to our newly-adopted brethren: for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property: for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self-government, establishing friendly and commercial relations with them, and for ascertaining the geography of the country acquired. Such materials for your information, relative to its affairs in general, as the short space of time has permitted me

to collect, will be laid before you when the subject shall be in a state for your consideration.

JEFFERSON TO GALLATIN.

Nov. 9, 1803.

The memoranda you enclosed me from Mr. Clarke deserve great attention. Such articles of them as depend on the executive shall be arranged for the next post. The following articles belong to the legislature.

The administration of justice to be prompt. Perhaps the judges should be obliged to hold their courts weekly, at least for some time to come.

The ships of resident owners to be naturalized, and in general the laws of the U. S., respecting navigation, importation, exportation &c., to be extended to the ports of the ceded territory.

The hospital to be provided for.

Slaves not to be imported, except from such of the U. S. as prohibit importation.

Without looking at the old territorial ordinance, I had imagined it best to found a government for the territory or territories of *lower* Louisiana on that basis. But on examining it, I find it will not do at all; that it would turn all their laws topsy turvy. Still I believe it best to appoint a governor & three judges, with legislative powers; only providing that the judges shall form the laws, & the governor have a negative only, subject further to the negative of a national legislature. The existing laws of the country being now in force, the new legislature will of course introduce the trial by jury in *criminal* cases, first; the habeas corpus, the freedom of the press, freedom of religion &c., as soon as can be, and in general draw their laws and organization to the mould of ours by degrees as they find practicable without exciting too much discontent. In proportion as we find the people there riper for receiving these first principles of freedom, congress may from session to session confirm their enjoyment of them.

As you have so many more opportunities than I have of free confidence with individual members, perhaps you may be able to give them these hints to make what use of them they please. Affectionate salutations.

P.S. My idea that upper Louisiana should be continued

under its present form of government, only making it subordinate to the national government, and independent of lower Louisiana. No other government can protect it from intruders.

JEFFERSON TO LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4, 1803.

... Your treaty has obtained nearly a general approbation. The federalists spoke & voted against it, but they are now so reduced in their numbers as to be nothing. The question on its ratification in the Senate was decided by 24 against 7, which was 10 more than enough. The vote in the H. of R. for making provision for its execution was carried by 89 against 23, which was a majority of 66, and the necessary bills are going through the Houses by greater majorities. Mr. Pichon, according to instructions from his government, proposed to have added to the ratification a protestation against any failure in time or other circumstances of execution, on our part. He was told, that in that case we should annex a counter protestation, which would leave the thing exactly where it was. That this transaction had been conducted, from the commencement of the negotiation to this stage of it, with a frankness & sincerity honorable to both nations, and comfortable to the heart of an honest man to review; that to annex to this last chapter of the transaction such an evidence of mutual distrust, was to change its aspect dishonorably for us both, and contrary to truth as to us; for that we had not the smallest doubt that France would punctually execute its part; & I assured Mr. Pichon that I had more confidence in the word of the First Consul than in all the parchment we could sign. He saw that we had ratified the treaty; that both branches had passed, by great majorities, one of the bills for execution, & would soon pass the other two; that no circumstance remained that could leave a doubt of our punctual performance; & like an able & an honest minister, (which he is in the highest degree,) he undertook to do what he knew his employers would do themselves, were they here spectators of all the existing circumstances, and exchanged the ratifications purely and simply: so that this instrument goes to the world as an evidence of the candor & confidence of the nations in each other, which will have the best effects. This was the more justifiable, as Mr. Pichon knew that Spain had entered with us a protestation against our ratification of the

treaty, grounded 1st, on the assertion that the First Consul had not executed the conditions of the treaties of cession; & 2ly, that he had broken a solemn promise not to alienate the country to any nation. We answered, that these were private questions between France & Spain, which they must settle together; that we derived our title from the First Consul, & did not doubt his guarantee of it; and we, four days ago, sent off orders to the Governor of the Mississippi territory & General Wilkinson to move down with the troops at hand to New Orleans, to receive the possession from Mr. Laussat. If he is heartily disposed to carry the order of the Consul into execution, he can probably command a voluntary force at New Orleans, and will have the aid of ours also, if he desires it, to take the possession, & deliver it to us. If he is not so disposed, *we* shall take the possession, & it will rest with the government of France, by adopting the act as their own, & obtaining the confirmation of Spain, to supply the non-execution of their stipulation to deliver, & to entitle themselves to the compleat execution of our part of the agreements. In the meantime, the Legislature is passing the bills, and we are preparing everything to be done on our part towards execution; and we shall not avail ourselves of the three months' delay after possession of the province, allowed by the treaty for the delivery of the stock, but shall deliver it the moment that possession is known here, which will be on the 18th day after it has taken place. . . .

JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1804.

. . . I very early saw that Louisiana was indeed a speck in our horizon which was to burst in a tornado; and the public are unapprised how near this catastrophe was. Nothing but a frank & friendly development of causes & effects on our part, and good sense enough in Bonaparte to see that the train was unavoidable, and would change the face of the world, saved us from that storm. I did not expect he would yield till a war took place between France and England, and my hope was to palliate and endure, if Messrs. Ross, Morris, &c. did not force a premature rupture, until that event. I believed the event not very distant, but acknowledge it came on sooner than I had expected. Whether, however, the good sense of Bonaparte might not see the course predicted to be necessary & unavoid-

able, even before a war should be imminent, was a chance which we thought it our duty to try; but the immediate prospect of rupture brought the case to immediate decision. The *dénouement* has been happy; and I confess I look to this duplication of area for the extending a government so free and economical as ours, as a great achievement to the mass of happiness which is to ensue. Whether we remain in one confederacy, or form into Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies, I believe not very important to the happiness of either part. Those of the western confederacy will be as much our children & descendants as those of the eastern, and I feel myself as much identified with that country, in future time, as with this; and did I now foresee a separation at some future day, yet I should feel the duty & the desire to promote the western interests as zealously as the eastern, doing all the good for both portions of our future family which should fall within my power. . . .

JEFFERSON TO MADISON.

July 14, 04.

The enclosed reclamations of Girod & Chote against the claims of Bapstropp to a monopoly of the Indian commerce supposed to be under the protection of the 3d article of the Louisiana Convention, as well as some other claims to abusive grants, will probably force us to meet that question. The article has been worded with remarkable caution on the part of our negociators. It is that the inhabitants shall be admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of our Constn., to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens, and, *in the mean time, en attendant*, shall be maintained in their liberty, property & religion. That is that they shall continue under the protection of the treaty, until the principles of our constitution can be extended to them, when the protection of the treaty is to cease, and that of our own principles to take its place. But as this could not be done at once, it has been provided to be as soon as our rules will admit. Accordingly Congress has begun by extending about 20. particular laws by their titles, to Louisiana. Among these is the act concerning intercourse with the Indians, which establishes a system of commerce with them admitting no monopoly. That class of rights therefore are now taken from under the treaty & placed under the principles of our laws. I imagine it will be necessary to express an opinion

to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Claiborne on this subject, after you shall have made up one. Affect<sup>ve</sup> salutations.

### JEFFERSON TO MADISON.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 7, '04.

... In order however to lessen the causes of appeal to the Convention, I sincerely wish that Congress at the next session may give to the Orleans territory a legislature to be chosen by the people, as this will be advancing them quite as fast as the rules of our government will admit; and the evils which may arise from the irregularities which such a legislature may run into, will not be so serious as leaving them the pretext of calling in a foreign umpire between them & us. . . .

### FROM JEFFERSON'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

March 4, 1805.

... I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family? With which shall we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse? . . .

The purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 constituted the first great chapter in the history of our national expansion. This purchase doubled the area of the United States, adding over 900,000 square miles. It comprised almost the entire region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, north of Texas,—the territory out of which have since been formed the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, with a great part of the States of Minnesota and Colorado, and also the Indian Territory, including Oklahoma. "The original domain of the Republic was equal to 102 States as large as Massachusetts. This addition was equal to 147, or 45 more than the original."

By a secret convention in 1762, confirmed by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France had given this vast territory to Spain; and the control which Spain thus had of the mouth of the Mississippi became, as years went on, a matter of more and more serious concern to our Western people, for whom the Mississippi and its tributaries were the great avenues of travel and of trade. Our sagacious statesmen saw early what serious consequences might be involved in the situation. Franklin said to Jay in 1784: "I would rather agree with the Spaniards to buy at a great price the whole of their right on the Mississippi than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street door." Jefferson devoted his earnest thought to the subject years before 1803. As Secretary of State in 1790, when there seemed to be some danger of Great Britain seizing New Orleans, he expressed to Washington his opinion that, rather than see Louisiana and Florida added to the British Empire, we should take part in the general war which then seemed impending; and at the same time he warned the French to let the territory alone. See also his vigorous letter to Carmichael, our representative at the court of Madrid, in August, 1790. Jefferson's thought was constantly upon our



fortunes at the mouth of the Mississippi; and he succeeded in negotiating the treaty which for the dozen years before the Louisiana Purchase secured for us peaceful relations with Spain. It was in direct contravention of the treaty stipulations that Spain, in October, 1802, cut short our privilege of deposit at New Orleans.

In 1801 Spain, by a secret treaty, ceded the territory back to France. Napoleon planned a great expedition and colony for Louisiana, and had ambitious thoughts of the restoration in America of the French power which fell before England at Quebec. The intimations of the cession from Spain to France created much disturbance and alarm in America. Kentucky was in a flame. The President was deeply stirred. The Spaniards had retained Louisiana on sufferance: the United States could have it at any time from *them*. But the French would be likely to hold their ancient possessions with a tighter clutch, and not content themselves with two or three trading-posts in a fertile territory large enough for an empire. Jefferson, from the hour when the intelligence reached him, had only this thought: The French must not have New Orleans. No one but ourselves must own our own street door." He addressed urgent instructions and suggestions to Mr. Livingston, our minister at Paris, embodying considerations which he knew would find their way to Napoleon. To his French friend, M. Dupont de Nemours, he also presented the American argument in a shrewd and sagacious letter, which he knew would have its weight in official circles. The United States could not let the French control the mouth of the Mississippi, and a conflict about it might finally necessitate an alliance of some sort between ourselves and Great Britain. In his annual message to Congress in December, 1802, he said, "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject."

Early in 1803 Jefferson sent Mr. Monroe, as a special ambassador, to join Mr. Livingston in Paris, charged with the fullest instructions, and authorized to give two million dollars, if he could do no better, for the island of New Orleans alone. The desire was to secure also — ten million dollars, if necessary, being authorized for all — such portion of the French territory as lay east of the Mississippi. The acquisition of the immense tract west of the Mississippi was not at the time contemplated. Monroe went, however, carrying with him the feeling of the excited nation and Jefferson's own full views, and was doubtless sure that the boldest action which contingencies might dictate would have sanction and approval. "Monroe well knew," says Morse in his *Life of Jefferson*, "that he had only fulfilled Jefferson's real wishes." "The entire credit — or discredit, if such there were — of the achievement," he adds, "belonged exclusively to Jefferson." Jefferson himself would have insisted that the credit was shared by those who so ably and tactfully represented him. Madison, then Secretary of State, upon receiving the report of the cession from Livingston and Monroe, wrote immediately (see his letter, July 20, 1803) to express to them Jefferson's "entire approbation" of their course; and Randall, in his *Life of Jefferson* (iii. 91-3), shows by various references how accordant it was with thoughts long in Jefferson's mind.

But it was a sudden and unexpected move of Napoleon which really determined the matter. Monroe arrived in Paris to find France on the eve of war with England, and Napoleon in negotiations with Livingston for the transfer to the United States of the whole of Louisiana. Napoleon knew that the British fleet could easily keep French forces away from the Mississippi; and, rather than have Great Britain seize Louisiana, he would sell it to the United States, getting what money he could out of it for use in the impending war. "I know the full value of Louisiana," he said, "and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiators who abandoned it in 1763. But, if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. . . . I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that, in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it." "I have given to England," he said afterward, "a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride." The terms of the sale — "probably the largest transaction in real estate which the world has ever known" — were agreed upon after considerable bickering, the sum paid by the United States being fifteen million dollars. The treaty contained a positive provision that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." M. Marbois, the French minister, relates that, as soon as the three negotiators had signed the treaties, they all rose, and shook hands; and Mr. Livingston gave utterance to the joy and satisfaction of them all, saying: —

"We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art nor dictated by force, and is equally advantageous to the two contracting parties. It will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank. The United States will re-establish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears

to be shed. they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and bad government."

This is almost the only prophetic word touching the acquired territory which has come down to us from the time; and even Livingston was writing to Madison at the same moment that perhaps only New Orleans and the country east of it need be kept, in which case the western territory might be sold to some European power, to get back our purchase money. Jefferson for two years thought it not impossible that as a result of this enlargement of our territory a new nation might be born beyond the Mississippi. But in his second inaugural (March 4, 1805) he exclaimed: "But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and, in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children than by strangers of another family?"

The great West and its exploration had long been subjects of commanding interest with Jefferson. Old South Leaflet No. 127 is devoted to illustrations of his many services for the North-west. In Paris, in 1780, he met John Ledyard, the adventurous Connecticut traveller; and he writes in his diary (May 17, 1786): "I suggested to him the enterprise of exploring the western part of our continent, by passing through St. Petersburg to Kamschatka, and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to America; and I undertook to have the permission of the Empress of Russia solicited. He eagerly embraced the proposition." See also in relation to Ledyard, whose effort failed, Jefferson's letters to Ezra Stiles, Sept. 1, 1786; Charles Thomson, Sept. 20, 1787; and William Carmichael, March 4, 1789. In 1793 Jefferson was the leading promoter of a movement, to be undertaken under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, for the exploration of the far North-west to the Pacific by André Michaux. The plan miscarried; but Jefferson's instructions to Michaux (January, 1793) are interesting as the expression of an idea later realized in the expedition of Lewis and Clark. That expedition is memorable. It was determined on by Jefferson just as he sent Monroe to Paris to push the Louisiana negotiations. See his message to Congress, Jan. 18, 1803; and his instructions to Lewis, June 20. On July 15, on the eve of Lewis's departure, Jefferson writes to him, "Last night we received the treaty from Paris ceding Louisiana." Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis is printed in Old South Leaflet No. 44. Jefferson's varied services for the exploration and opening of the West are graphically summarized in Curtis's "The True Thomas Jefferson," p. 370. The account of Louisiana which Jefferson had prepared for Congress in 1803 from the best available sources, to clear up the general ignorance concerning the territory, is published in Old South Leaflet 105. See his queries concerning Louisiana in letters to Ephraim Kirby and William Dunbar, July, 1803.

The best general account of the purchase of Louisiana and of the debates and legislation incident to it is that by Henry Adams in his History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, vol. ii. See also Cooley's "Acquisition of Louisiana," Hosmer's "The Louisiana Purchase," and Barbé Marbois's History of Louisiana. See article on Annexations in Lalor's Cyclopedia, the chapter on "The Six Growths of the United States" in William Barrows's "The United States of Yesterday and To-day," and the paper on "The Louisiana Purchase," by Rev. C. F. Robertson, in the American Historical Association's Papers, I. The subject has prominent place in all the biographies of Jefferson. There is an excellent brief account in Gilman's Life of Monroe, in the American Statesmen Series; and the bibliography of the subject, by Professor J. F. Jameson, in the appendix to that volume, is very complete. See also the references in the valuable chapter on "Territorial Acquisitions and Divisions," by Justin Winsor and Professor Edward Channing, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. vii. The place, however, to which the thorough and first-hand student will go is the American State Papers, Foreign Relations, II. Pages 506-66 of this volume should be carefully read, as here are all the official communications which passed between Washington and Paris. The two conventions signed in connection with the treaty of cession appear here; and the student will give special attention to the memoirs prepared by Livingston for Napoleon, Madison's general instructions to Livingston and Monroe, March 2, 1803, Livingston's letters to Madison, April 13 and 17, 1803, giving account of the purchase, and Livingston and Monroe's letter to Madison, May 13, 1803.

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Old South Leaflets

## Monroe's Messages on Florida.

FROM MONROE'S SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS,  
NOVEMBER 16, 1818.

Our relations with Spain remain nearly in the state in which they were at the close of the last session. The convention of 1802, providing for the adjustment of a certain portion of the claims of our citizens for injuries sustained by spoliation, and so long suspended by the Spanish Government, has at length been ratified by it, but no arrangement has yet been made for the payment of another portion of like claims, not less extensive or well founded, or for other classes of claims, or for the settlement of boundaries. These subjects have again been brought under consideration in both countries, but no agreement has been entered into respecting them. In the meantime events have occurred which clearly prove the ill effect of the policy which that Government has so long pursued on the friendly relations of the two countries, which it is presumed is at least of as much importance to Spain as to the United States to maintain. A state of things has existed in the Floridas the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those Provinces to which the Spanish title extends the Government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined almost exclusively to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those Provinces. These

different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding on the one side the authority of Spain, and protected on the other by an imaginary line which separates Florida from the United States. have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practiced various frauds on our revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island last year by a small band of adventurers, not exceeding 150 in number, who wrested it from the inconsiderable Spanish force stationed there, and held it several months, during which a single feeble effort only was made to recover it, which failed. clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become, as the conduct of those adventurers while in possession of the island as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed.

This country had, in fact, become the theater of every species of lawless adventure. With little population of its own, the Spanish authority almost extinct, and the colonial governments in a state of revolution, having no pretension to it, and sufficiently employed in their own concerns, it was in a great measure derelict, and the object of cupidity to every adventurer. A system of buccaneering was rapidly organizing over it which menaced in its consequences the lawful commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States, while it presented a temptation to every people, on whose seduction its success principally depended. In regard to the United States, the pernicious effect of this unlawful combination was not confined to the ocean; the Indian tribes have constituted the effective force in Florida. With these tribes these adventurers had formed at an early period a connection with a view to avail themselves of that force to promote their own projects of accumulation and aggrandizement. It is to the interference of some of these adventurers, in misrepresenting the claims and titles of the Indians to land and in practising on their savage propensities, that the Seminole war is principally to be traced. Men who thus connect themselves with savage communities and stimulate them to war, which is always attended on their part with acts of barbarity the most shocking, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the savages. They would certainly have no claim to an immunity from the punishment which, according to the rules of warfare practiced by the savages, might justly be inflicted on the savages themselves.

If the embarrassments of Spain prevented her from making an indemnity to our citizens for so long a time from her treasury for their losses by spoliation and otherwise, it was always in her power to have provided it by the cession of this territory. Of this her Government has been repeatedly apprised, and the cession was the more to have been anticipated as Spain must have known that in ceding it she would in effect cede what had become of little value to her, and would likewise relieve herself from the important obligation secured by the treaty of 1795, and all other commitments respecting it. If the United States, from consideration of these embarrassments, declined pressing their claims in a spirit of hostility, the motive ought at least to have been duly appreciated by the Government of Spain. It is well known to her Government that other powers have made to the United States an indemnity for like losses sustained by their citizens at the same epoch.

There is nevertheless a limit beyond which this spirit of amity and forbearance can in no instance be justified. If it was proper to rely on amicable negotiation for an indemnity for losses, it would not have been so to have permitted the inability of Spain to fulfill her engagements and to sustain her authority in the Floridas to be perverted by foreign adventurers and savages to purposes so destructive to the lives of our fellow-citizens and the highest interests of the United States. The right of self-defense never ceases. It is among the most sacred, and alike necessary to nations and to individuals, and whether the attack be made by Spain herself or by those who abuse her power, its obligation is not the less strong. The invaders of Amelia Island had assumed a popular and respected title under which they might approach and wound us. As their object was distinctly seen, and the duty imposed on the Executive by an existing law was profoundly felt, that mask was not permitted to protect them. It was thought incumbent on the United States to suppress the establishment, and it was accordingly done. The combination in Florida for the unlawful purposes stated, the acts perpetrated by that combination, and, above all, the incitement of the Indians to massacre our fellow-citizens of every age and of both sexes, merited a like treatment and received it. In pursuing these savages to an imaginary line in the woods it would have been the height of folly to have suffered that line to protect them. Had that been done the war could never cease. Even if the territory had been exclu-

sively that of Spain and her power complete over it, we had a right by the law of nations to follow the enemy on it and to subdue him there. But the territory belonged, in a certain sense at least, to the savage enemy who inhabited it; the power of Spain had ceased to exist over it, and protection was sought under her title by those who had committed on our citizens hostilities which she was bound by treaty to have prevented, but had not the power to prevent. To have stopped at that line would have given new encouragement to these savages and new vigor to the whole combination existing there in the prosecution of all its pernicious purposes.

In suppressing the establishment at Amelia Island no unfriendliness was manifested toward Spain, because the post was taken from a force which had wrested it from her. The measure, it is true, was not adopted in concert with the Spanish Government or those in authority under it, because in transactions connected with the war in which Spain and the colonies are engaged it was thought proper in doing justice to the United States to maintain a strict impartiality toward both the belligerent parties without consulting or acting in concert with either. It gives me pleasure to state that the Governments of Buenos Ayres and Venezuela, whose names were assumed, have explicitly disclaimed all participation in those measures, and even the knowledge of them until communicated by this Government, and have also expressed their satisfaction that a course of proceedings had been suppressed which if justly imputable to them would dishonor their cause.

In authorizing Major-General Jackson to enter Florida in pursuit of the Seminoles care was taken not to encroach on the rights of Spain. I regret to have to add that in executing this order facts were disclosed respecting the conduct of the officers of Spain in authority there in encouraging the war, furnishing munitions of war and other supplies to carry it on, and in other acts not less marked which evinced their participation in the hostile purposes of that combination and justified the confidence with which it inspired the savages that by those officers they would be protected. A conduct so incompatible with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, particularly with the positive obligation of the fifth article of the treaty of 1795, by which Spain was bound to restrain, even by force, those savages from acts of hostility against the United States, could not fail to excite surprise. The commanding general was

convinced that he should fail in his object, that he should in effect accomplish nothing, if he did not deprive those savages of the resource on which they had calculated and of the protection on which they had relied in making the war. As all the documents relating to this occurrence will be laid before Congress, it is not necessary to enter into further detail respecting it.

Although the reasons which induced Major-General Jackson to take these posts were duly appreciated, there was nevertheless no hesitation in deciding on the course which it became the Government to pursue. As there was reason to believe that the commanders of these posts had violated their instructions, there was no disposition to impute to their Government a conduct so unprovoked and hostile. An order was in consequence issued to the general in command there to deliver the posts — Pensacola unconditionally to any person duly authorized to receive it, and St. Marks, which is in the heart of the Indian country, on the arrival of a competent force to defend it against those savages and their associates.

In entering Florida to suppress this combination no idea was entertained of hostility to Spain, and however justifiable the commanding general was, in consequence of the misconduct of the Spanish officers, in entering St. Marks and Pensacola to terminate it by proving to the savages and their associates that they should not be protected even there, yet the amicable relations existing between the United States and Spain could not be altered by that act alone. By ordering the restitution of the posts those relations were preserved. To a change of them the power of the Executive is deemed incompetent; it is vested in Congress only.

By this measure, so promptly taken, due respect was shown to the Government of Spain. The misconduct of her officers has not been imputed to her. She was enabled to review with candor her relations with the United States and her own situation, particularly in respect to the territory in question, with the dangers inseparable from it, and regarding the losses we have sustained for which indemnity has been so long withheld, and the injuries we have suffered through that territory, and her means of redress, she was likewise enabled to take with honor the course best calculated to do justice to the United States and to promote her own welfare.

Copies of the instructions to the commanding general, of his

correspondence with the Secretary of War, explaining his motives and justifying his conduct, with a copy of the proceedings of the courts-martial in the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambristie, and of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the minister plenipotentiary of Spain near this Government, and of the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid with the Government of Spain, will be laid before Congress.

The civil war which has so long prevailed between Spain and the Provinces in South America still continues, without any prospect of its speedy termination. The information respecting the condition of those countries which has been collected by the commissioners recently returned from thence will be laid before Congress in copies of their reports, with such other information as has been received from other agents of the United States.

It appears from these communications that the Government at Buenos Ayres declared itself independent in July, 1816, having previously exercised the power of an independent government, though in the name of the King of Spain, from the year 1810; that the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, and Paraguay, with the city of Santa Fee, all of which are also independent, are unconnected with the present Government of Buenos Ayres: that Chili has declared itself independent and is closely connected with Buenos Ayres; that Venezuela has also declared itself independent, and now maintains the conflict with various success; and that the remaining parts of South America, except Monte Video and such other portions of the eastern bank of the La Plata as are held by Portugal, are still in the possession of Spain or in a certain degree under her influence.

By a circular note addressed by the ministers of Spain to the allied powers, with whom they are respectively accredited, it appears that the allies have undertaken to mediate between Spain and the South American Provinces, and that the manner and extent of their interposition would be settled by a congress which was to have met at Aix-la-Chapelle in September last. From the general policy and course of proceeding observed by the allied powers in regard to this contest it is inferred that they will confine their interposition to the expression of their sentiments, abstaining from the application of force. I state this impression that force will not be applied with the greater satisfaction because it is a course more consistent with justice



and likewise authorizes a hope that the calamities of the war will be confined to the parties only, and will be of shorter duration.

From the view taken of this subject, founded on all the information that we have been able to obtain, there is good cause to be satisfied with the course heretofore pursued by the United States in regard to this contest, and to conclude that it is proper to adhere to it, especially in the present state of affairs.

FROM MONROE'S THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS,  
DECEMBER 7, 1819.

Having informed Congress, on the 27th of February last, that a treaty of amity, settlement, and limits had been concluded in this city between the United States and Spain, and ratified by the competent authorities of the former, full confidence was entertained that it would have been ratified by His Catholic Majesty with equal promptitude and a like earnest desire to terminate on the conditions of that treaty the differences which had so long existed between the two countries. Every view which the subject admitted of was thought to have justified this conclusion. Great losses had been sustained by citizens of the United States from Spanish cruisers more than twenty years before, which had not been redressed. These losses had been acknowledged and provided for by a treaty as far back as the year 1802, which, although concluded at Madrid, was not then ratified by the Government of Spain, nor since, until the last year, when it was suspended by the late treaty, a more satisfactory provision to both parties, as was presumed, having been made for them. Other differences had arisen in this long interval, affecting their highest interests, which were likewise provided for by this last treaty. The treaty itself was formed on great consideration and a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, the subject-matter of every article having been for years under discussion and repeated references having been made by the minister of Spain to his Government on the points respecting which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed. It was formed by a minister duly authorized for the purpose, who had represented his Government in the United States and had been employed in this long-protracted negotiation several years, and who, it is not denied, kept strictly within the letter of his instructions. The faith of Spain was therefore pledged.

under circumstances of peculiar force and solemnity, for its ratification. On the part of the United States this treaty was evidently acceded to in a spirit of conciliation and concession. The indemnity for injuries and losses so long before sustained, and now again acknowledged and provided for, was to be paid by them without becoming a charge on the treasury of Spain. For territory ceded by Spain other territory of great value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her. This cession was nevertheless received as the means of indemnifying our citizens in a considerable sum, the presumed amount of their losses. Other considerations of great weight urged the cession of this territory by Spain. It was surrounded by the Territories of the United States on every side except on that of the ocean. Spain had lost her authority over it, and, falling into the hands of adventurers connected with the savages, it was made the means of unceasing annoyance and injury to our Union in many of its most essential interests. By this cession, then, Spain ceded a territory in reality of no value to her and obtained concessions of the highest importance by the settlement of long-standing differences with the United States affecting their respective claims and limits, and likewise relieved herself from the obligation of a treaty relating to it which she had failed to fulfill, and also from the responsibility incident to the most flagrant and pernicious abuses of her rights where she could not support her authority.

It being known that the treaty was formed under these circumstances, not a doubt was entertained that His Catholic Majesty would have ratified it without delay. I regret to have to state that this reasonable expectation has been disappointed; that the treaty was not ratified within the time stipulated and has not since been ratified. As it is important that the nature and character of this unexpected occurrence should be distinctly understood, I think it my duty to communicate to you all the facts and circumstances in my possession relating to it.

Anxious to prevent all future disagreement with Spain by giving the most prompt effect to the treaty which had been thus concluded, and particularly by the establishment of a government in Florida which should preserve order there, the minister of the United States who had been recently appointed to His Catholic Majesty, and to whom the ratification by his Government had been committed to be exchanged for that of

Spain, was instructed to transmit the latter to the Department of State as soon as obtained, by a public ship subjected to his order for the purpose. Unexpected delay occurring in the ratification by Spain, he requested to be informed of the cause. It was stated in reply that the great importance of the subject, and a desire to obtain explanations on certain points which were not specified, had produced the delay, and that an envoy would be dispatched to the United States to obtain such explanations of this Government. The minister of the United States offered to give full explanation on any point on which it might be desired, which proposal was declined. Having communicated this result to the Department of State in August last, he was instructed, notwithstanding the disappointment and surprise which it produced, to inform the Government of Spain that if the treaty should be ratified and transmitted here at any time before the meeting of Congress it would be received and have the same effect as if it had been ratified in due time. This order was executed, the authorized communication was made to the Government of Spain, and by its answer, which has just been received, we are officially made acquainted for the first time with the causes which have prevented the ratification of the treaty by His Catholic Majesty. It is alleged by the minister of Spain that this Government had attempted to alter one of the principal articles of the treaty by a declaration which the minister of the United States had been ordered to present when he should deliver the ratification by his Government in exchange for that of Spain, and of which he gave notice, explanatory of the sense in which that article was understood. It is further alleged that this Government had recently tolerated or protected an expedition from the United States against the Province of Texas. These two imputed acts are stated as the reasons which have induced His Catholic Majesty to withhold his ratification from the treaty, to obtain explanations respecting which it is repeated that an envoy would be forthwith dispatched to the United States. How far these allegations will justify the conduct of the Government of Spain will appear on a view of the following facts and the evidence which supports them :

It will be seen by the documents transmitted herewith that the declaration mentioned relates to a clause in the eighth article concerning certain grants of land recently made by His Catholic Majesty in Florida, which it was understood had con-

veyed all the lands which till then had been ungranted; it was the intention of the parties to annul these latter grants, and that clause was drawn for that express purpose and for none other. The date of these grants was unknown, but it was understood to be posterior to that inserted in the article; indeed, it must be obvious to all that if that provision in the treaty had not the effect of annulling these grants, it would be altogether nugatory. Immediately after the treaty was concluded and ratified by this Government an intimation was received that these grants were of anterior date to that fixed on by the treaty and that they would not, of course, be affected by it. The mere possibility of such a case, so inconsistent with the intention of the parties and the meaning of the article, induced this Government to demand an explanation on the subject, which was immediately granted, and which corresponds with this statement. With respect to the other act alleged, that this Government had tolerated or protected an expedition against Texas, it is utterly without foundation. Every discountenance has invariably been given to any such attempt from within the limits of the United States, as is fully evinced by the acts of the Government and the proceedings of the courts. There being cause, however, to apprehend, in the course of the last summer, that some adventurers entertained views of the kind suggested, the attention of the constituted authorities in that quarter was immediately drawn to them, and it is known that the project, whatever it might be, has utterly failed.

These facts will, it is presumed, satisfy every impartial mind that the Government of Spain had no justifiable cause for declining to ratify the treaty. A treaty concluded in conformity with instructions is obligatory, in good faith, in all its stipulations, according to the true intent and meaning of the parties. Each party is bound to ratify it. If either could set it aside without the consent of the other, there would be no longer any rules applicable to such transactions between nations. By this proceeding the Government of Spain has rendered to the United States a new and very serious injury. It has been stated that a minister would be sent to ask certain explanations of this Government; but if such were desired, why were they not asked within the time limited for the ratification? Is it contemplated to open a new negotiation respecting any of the articles or conditions of the treaty? If that were done, to

what consequences might it not lead? At what time and in what manner would a new negotiation terminate? By this proceeding Spain has formed a relation between the two countries which will justify any measures on the part of the United States which a strong sense of injury and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation may dictate.

In the course to be pursued these objects should be constantly held in view and have their due weight. Our national honor must be maintained, and a new and a distinguished proof be afforded of that regard for justice and moderation which has invariably governed the councils of this free people. It must be obvious to all that if the United States had been desirous of making conquests, or had been even willing to aggrandize themselves in that way, they could have had no inducement to form this treaty. They would have much cause for gratulation at the course which has been pursued by Spain. An ample field for ambition is open before them, but such a career is not consistent with the principles of their Government nor the interests of the nation.

From a full view of all circumstances, it is submitted to the consideration of Congress whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the treaty into effect in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain, claiming on their part all its advantages and yielding to Spain those secured to her. By pursuing this course we shall rest on the sacred ground of right, sanctioned in the most solemn manner by Spain herself by a treaty which she was bound to ratify, for refusing to do which she must incur the censure of other nations, even those most friendly to her, while by confining ourselves within that limit we can not fail to obtain their well-merited approbation. We must have peace on a frontier where we have been so long disturbed; our citizens must be indemnified for losses so long since sustained, and for which indemnity has been so unjustly withheld from them. Accomplishing these great objects, we obtain all that is desirable.

But His Catholic Majesty has twice declared his determination to send a minister to the United States to ask explanations on certain points and to give them respecting his delay to ratify the treaty. Shall we act by taking the ceded territory and proceeding to execute the other conditions of the treaty before this minister arrives and is heard? This is a case which forms a strong appeal to the candor, the magnanimity, and the honor of

this people. Much is due to courtesy between nations. By a short delay we shall lose nothing, for, resting on the ground of immutable truth and justice, we can not be diverted from our purpose. It ought to be presumed that the explanations which may be given to the minister of Spain will be satisfactory, and produce the desired result. In any event, the delay for the purpose mentioned, being a further manifestation of the sincere desire to terminate in the most friendly manner all differences with Spain, can not fail to be duly appreciated by His Catholic Majesty as well as by other powers. It is submitted, therefore, whether it will not be proper to make the law proposed for carrying the conditions of the treaty into effect, should it be adopted, contingent; to suspend its operation, upon the responsibility of the Executive, in such manner as to afford an opportunity for such friendly explanations as may be desired during the present session of Congress.

I communicate to Congress a copy of the treaty and of the instructions to the minister of the United States at Madrid respecting it; of his correspondence with the minister of Spain, and of such other documents as may be necessary to give a full view of the subject.

In the course which the Spanish government have on this occasion thought proper to pursue it is satisfactory to know that they have not been countenanced by any other European power. On the contrary, the opinion and wishes both of France and Great Britain have not been withheld either from the United States or from Spain, and have been unequivocal in favor of the ratification. There is also reason to believe that the sentiments of the Imperial Government of Russia have been the same, and that they have also been made known to the cabinet of Madrid.

In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish Provinces in this hemisphere the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality. Our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties and on the same conditions, and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering in favor of either to the prejudice of the other. The progress of the war, however, has operated manifestly in favor of the colonies. Buenos Ayres still maintains unshaken the independence which it declared in 1816, and has enjoyed since 1810. Like success has also lately attended Chili and the Provinces north of the La Plata bordering on it, and likewise Venezuela.

This contest has from its commencement been very interesting to other powers, and to none more so than to the United States. A virtuous people may and will confine themselves within the limit of a strict neutrality; but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbors without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case. It has been the steady purpose of this Government to prevent that feeling leading to excess, and it is very gratifying to have it in my power to state that so strong has been the sense throughout the whole community of what was due to the character and obligations of the nation that very few examples of a contrary kind have occurred.

The distance of the colonies from the parent country and the great extent of their population and resources gave them advantages which it was anticipated at a very early period would be difficult for Spain to surmount. The steadiness, consistency, and success with which they have pursued their object, as evinced more particularly by the undisturbed sovereignty which Buenos Ayres has so long enjoyed, evidently give them a strong claim to the favorable consideration of other nations. These sentiments on the part of the United States have not been withheld from other powers, with whom it is desirable to act in concert. Should it become manifest to the world that the efforts of Spain to subdue these Provinces will be fruitless, it may be presumed that the Spanish Government itself will give up the contest. In producing such a determination it can not be doubted that the opinion of friendly powers who have taken no part in the controversy will have their merited influence.

FROM MONROE'S SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, MAY 9,  
1820.

In regard to the stipulation proposed, as the condition of the ratification of the treaty, that the United States shall abandon the right to recognize the revolutionary colonies in South America, or to form other relations with them when in their judgment it may be just and expedient so to do, it is manifestly so repugnant to the honor and even to the independence of the United States that it has been impossible to discuss it. In making this proposal it is perceived that His Catholic Majesty has entirely misconceived the principles on which this

government has acted in being a party to a negotiation so long protracted for claims so well-founded and reasonable, as he likewise has the sacrifices which the United States have made, comparatively, with Spain in the treaty to which it is proposed to annex so extraordinary and improper a condition.

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Instigated by the English emissaries Nichols and Woodbine, the Seminoles, with scattering bands from other tribes, continued to annoy the border settlements in Georgia, and several times attacked transports on the Apalachicola River, in one instance mustering twelve hundred men and continuing the fight for several days. In January, 1818, General Jackson made a treaty with the Creeks, and engaged them to join him in attack upon the Seminoles of Florida. In the spring of the same year, with a force of one thousand militia, five hundred regulars, and nearly two thousand Indians, he started on an expedition against the Seminoles, with the purpose of destroying their power and putting an end to their depredations.

Marching rapidly upon the Miccosukee towns of East Florida, he destroyed them, and soon afterwards attacked and destroyed the Fowl towns, the Indians making but a feeble resistance. General Jackson then marched upon St. Mark's, which was strongly fortified and had twenty guns mounted. The fort surrendered without resistance, and Prophet Francis and another Indian chief fell into the hands of the Americans, and were immediately hanged.

At Miccosukee, General Jackson found three hundred scalps of men, women, and children, most of them fresh, and which had evidently been recently exhibited with triumph. From St. Mark's, General Jackson marched to Suwanee, where he dispersed a large number of Indians, and took many prisoners, among them two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who were accused of being the chief agents in supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition and directing their operations against the whites. A court-martial was held to try them, and both being found guilty were sentenced to suffer death, one by hanging, the other to be shot, and the sentence was promptly executed. This action of General Jackson was severely criticised, both at the time, and subsequently in the political contests in which he became engaged. General Jackson afterwards marched against Pensacola, having been in-



formed that the Spanish government, while furnishing arms to the Indians who were hostile to the United States, refused to allow provisions to pass up the Escambia for the American troops. Upon the approach of General Jackson, the Spanish governor retired to Fort Barrancas, which, being menaced by the United States troops, was surrendered after a slight show of resistance.

A treaty of peace, consisting of sixteen articles, was concluded between Spain and the United States on the 22d of February, 1819, ceding the Floridas to the United States. The sixth article of this treaty provided that "the inhabitants of the territories ceded to the United States should be incorporated into the Union of the United States, as soon as might be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

The eighth article provided "that all the grants of land made before the 24th of January, 1818, by Spain, should be ratified and confirmed to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the territories had remained under the dominion of Spain."

The ninth article provided that "the United States would cause satisfaction to be made for the injuries, if any, which by process of law should be established to have been suffered by the Spanish officers and individual Spanish inhabitants by the late operations of the American army in Florida."

These articles of the treaty have given validity to what are now known as Spanish grants and claims for losses, in which so many of the people of Florida were interested.

The treaty was finally ratified on the 19th of February, 1821. The change of flags in East Florida took place at St. Augustine, 10th of July, 1821, under Governor Coppinger on the part of Spain, and Colonel Robert Butler on the part of the United States; in West Florida, at Pensacola, on the 21st of July, 1821, Governor Callava representing the Spanish government, and General Jackson that of the United States.—*From Fairbanks's History of Florida.*

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The best general history of Florida is that by George R. Fairbanks, which covers the whole period from the discovery by Ponce de Leon in 1512 to the close of the Florida War in 1842. The brief section giving an account of the military proceedings, in which General Jackson was the leader of our own forces, just preceding the cession of Florida to us by Spain, is printed above. It is with the situation immediately after these proceedings that the

passage in Monroe's message of 1818, which stands first in the present leaflet, deals. This situation and the general subject of the cession by Spain are discussed in Gilman's *Life of Monroe*, Morse's *Life of John Quincy Adams*, the *Lives of Jackson* by Sumner and Parton (in the latter with special fulness), as well as in the general histories of the period.

"The Acquisition of Florida" is the subject of a special essay in the appendix to J. L. M. Curry's "*Constitutional Government in Spain*," which is particularly recommended to the student. See also article on Annexations in Laylor's *Cyclopædia*. For information concerning the early history of Florida, see John Gilmary Shea's chapter on Ancient Florida, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii., with its full bibliographical notes. A section of the famous "*Narrative of the Gentleman of Elyas*," giving an account of De Soto's explorations, is printed in *Old South Leaflet No. 36*.

The whole of Monroe's special message of May 9, 1820, a single paragraph of which is printed above, should be read by the careful student, who will also note the brief references in the annual messages of 1817 and 1820, and read the special messages of January 13 and March 26, 1818. Finally, in February, 1821, the ratification of the treaty by the Spanish government was received; and, in his second inaugural address the next month, Monroe said:—

"Great confidence is entertained that the late treaty with Spain, which has been ratified by both the parties, and the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, has placed the relations of the two countries on a basis of permanent friendship. The provision made by it for such of our citizens as have claims on Spain of the character described will, it is presumed, be very satisfactory to them, and the boundary which is established between the territories of the parties westward of the Mississippi, heretofore in dispute, has, it is thought, been settled on conditions just and advantageous to both. But to the acquisition of Florida too much importance can not be attached. It secures to the United States a territory important in itself, and whose importance is much increased by its bearing on many of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighboring States a free passage to the ocean, through the province ceded, by several rivers, having their sources high up within their limits. It secures us against all future annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbors in the Gulf of Mexico for ships of war of the largest size. It covers, by its position in the gulf, the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole Western country which find a market through those streams."

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## The Fall of the Alamo.

CAPTAIN R. M. POTTER

The fall of the Alamo and the massacre of its garrison, which in 1836 opened the campaign of Santa Ana in Texas, caused a profound sensation throughout the United States, and is still remembered with deep feeling by all who take an interest in the history of that section; yet the details of the final assault have never been fully and correctly narrated, and wild exaggerations have taken their place in popular legend. The reason will be obvious when it is remembered that not a single combatant of the last struggle from within the fort survived to tell the tale, while the official reports of the enemy were neither circumstantial nor reliable. When horror is intensified by mystery, the sure product is romance. A trustworthy account of the assault could be compiled only by comparing and combining the verbal narratives of such of the assailants as could be relied on for veracity, and adding to this such lights as might be gathered from military documents of that period, from credible local information, and from any source more to be trusted than rumor. As I was a resident at Matamoros when the event occurred, and for several months after the invading army retreated thither, and afterwards resided near the scene of action, I had opportunities for obtaining the kind of information referred to better perhaps than have been possessed by any person now living outside of Mexico. I was often urged to publish what I had gathered on the subject, as thereby an interesting passage of history might be preserved. I consequently gave to the *San Antonio Herald* in 1860 an imperfect outline of what is contained in this article, and the communication was soon after printed in pamphlet form. Subsequently to its appearance, however, I obtained many additional and interesting details, mostly from Colonel Juan N. Seguin of San Antonio, who had

been an officer of the garrison up to within six days of the assault. His death, of which I have since heard, no doubt took away the last of those who were soldiers of the Alamo when it was first invested. I now offer these sheets as a revision and enlargement of my article of 1860.

Before beginning the narrative, however, I must describe the Alamo and its surroundings as they existed in the spring of 1836. San Antonio, then a town of about 7,000 inhabitants, had a Mexican population, a minority of which was well affected to the cause of Texas, while the rest were inclined to make the easiest terms they could with whichever side might be for the time being dominant. The San Antonio River, which, properly speaking, is a large rivulet, divided the town from the Alamo, the former on the west side and the latter on the east. The Alamo village, a small suburb of San Antonio, was south of the fort, or Mission, as it was originally called, which bore the same name. The latter was an old fabric, built during the first settlement of the vicinity by the Spaniards; and having been originally designed as a place of safety for the colonists and their property in case of Indian hostility, with room sufficient for that purpose, it had neither the strength, compactness, nor dominant points which ought to belong to a regular fortification. The front of the Alamo Chapel bears date of 1757, but the other works must have been built earlier. As the whole area contained between two and three acres, a thousand men would have barely sufficed to man its defenses; and before a regular siege train they would soon have crumbled. Yoakum, in his history of Texas, is not only astray in his details of the assault, but mistaken about the measurement of the place. Had the works covered no more ground than he represents, the result of the assault might have been different.

From recollection of the locality, as I viewed it in 1841, I could in 1860 trace the extent of the outer walls, which had been demolished about thirteen years before the latter period. The dimensions here given are taken from actual measurement then made; and the accompanying diagram gives correct outlines, though without aiming at close exactitude of scale. The figure *A* in the diagram represents the chapel of the fort, 75 feet long, 62 wide, and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  high, with walls of solid masonry, four feet thick. It was originally of but one story, and if it then had any windows below, they were probably



of cement. *G H I K* were flat-roofed, stone-walled rooms built against the inside of the west barrier. *L L L L L* denote barrier walls, enclosing an area, 154 yards long and 54 wide, with the long barrack on the east and the low barrack on the south of it. These walls were  $2\frac{3}{4}$  feet thick, and from 9 to 12 high, except the strip which fronted the chapel, that being only four feet in height. This low piece of wall was covered by an oblique intrenchment, marked *R*, and yet to be described, which ran from the southwest angle of the chapel to the east end of the low barrack. *M* marks the place of a palisade gate at the west end of the intrenchment. The small letters (*n*) locate the doors of the several rooms which opened upon the large area. Most of those doors had within a semicircular parapet for the use of marksmen, composed of a double curtain of hides, upheld by stakes and filled in with rammed earth. Some of the rooms were also loopholed. *O O* mark barrier walls, from 5 to 6 feet high and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  thick, which enclosed a smaller area north of the chapel and east of the long barrack. *P* designates a cattle yard east of the barrack and south of the small area; it was enclosed by a picket fence. *Q* shows the locality of a battered breach in the north wall.

The above-described fort, if it merited that name, was, when the siege commenced, in the condition for defense in which it had been left by the Mexican general, Cos, when he capitulated in the fall of 1835. The chapel, except the west end and north projection, had been unroofed, the east end being occupied by the platform of earth *B*, 12 feet high, with a slope for ascension to the west. On its level were mounted three pieces of cannon. One (1), a 12-pounder, pointed east through an embrasure roughly notched in the wall; another (2) was aimed north through a similar notch; and another (3) fired over the wall to the south. High scaffolds of wood enabled marksmen to use the top of the roofless wall as a parapet. The intrenchment (*R*) consisted of a ditch and breastwork, the latter of earth packed between two rows of palisades, the outer row being higher than the earthwork. Behind it and near the gate was a battery of four guns (4 5 6 7), all 4-pounders, pointing south. The *porte-cochère* through the low barrack was covered on the outside by a lunette of stockades and earth, mounted with two guns (8 9). In the southwest angle of the large area was an 18-pounder (10), in the centre of the west wall a twelve-pound carronade (11), and in the northwest corner of the same

area an 8-pounder (12), and east of this, within the north wall, two more guns of the same calibre (13 14). All the guns of this area were mounted on high platforms of stockades and earth, and fired over the walls. The several barriers were covered on the outside with a ditch, except where such guard was afforded by the irrigating canal, which flowed on the east and west sides of the fort and served to fill the fosse with water.

Thus the works were mounted with fourteen guns, which agrees with Yoakum's account of their number, though Santa Ana in his report exaggerates it to twenty-one. The number, however, has little bearing on the merits of the final defense, with which cannon had very little to do. These guns were in the hands of men unskilled in their use, and owing to the construction of the works most of them had little width of range. Of the buildings above described, the chapel and the two barracks are probably still standing. They were repaired and newly roofed during the Mexican war for the use of the United States Quartermaster's department.

In the winter of 1835-6 Colonel Neill, of Texas, was in command of San Antonio, with two companies of volunteers, among whom was a remnant of New Orleans Greys, who had taken an efficient part in the siege and capture of the town about a year before. At this time the Provisional Government of Texas, which, though in revolt, had not yet declared a final separation from Mexico, had broken into a conflicting duality. The Governor and Council repudiated each other, and each claimed the obedience which was generally not given to either. Invasion was impending, and there seemed to be little more than anarchy to meet it. During this state of affairs Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. B. Travis, who had commanded the scouting service of the late campaign, and had since been commissioned with the aforesaid rank as an officer of regular cavalry, was assigned by the Governor to relieve Colonel Neill of the command of his post. The volunteers, who cared little for either of the two governments, wished to choose their own leader, and were willing to accept Travis only as second in command. They were, therefore, clamorous that Neill should issue an order for the election of a Colonel. To get over the matter without interfering with Travis' right, he prepared an order for the election of a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was about to depart, when his men, finding out what he had done, mobbed him, and threatened his life unless he should comply with their wishes.

He felt constrained to yield, and on the amended order James Bowie was unanimously elected a full Colonel. He had been for several years a resident of Texas, and had taken a prominent part in the late campaign against Cos. His election occurred early in February, 1836, about two weeks before the enemy came in sight: and Travis, who had just arrived or came soon after, found Bowie in command of the garrison, and claiming by virtue of the aforesaid election the right to command him and the re-enforcement he brought. They both had their headquarters at the Alamo, where their men were quartered, and there must have been a tacit understanding on both sides that conflict of authority should as far as possible be avoided. This, however, could not have continued many days but for the common bond of approaching peril.

Travis brought with him a company of regular recruits, enlisted for the half regiment of cavalry which the Provisional Government had intended to raise. J. N. Seguin, a native of San Antonio who had been commissioned as the senior Captain of Travis' corps, joined him at the Alamo and brought into the garrison the skeleton of his company, consisting of nine Mexican recruits, natives, some of the town aforesaid and others of the interior of Mexico. The aforesaid company and squad of enlisted men and the two companies of volunteers under Bowie formed the garrison of the Alamo, which then numbered from a hundred and fifty-six to a hundred and sixty. Of these the volunteers comprised considerably more than half, and over two-thirds of the whole were men who had but recently arrived in the country. Seguin and his nine recruits were all that represented the Mexican population of Texas. Of that nine, seven fell in the assault, the Captain and two of his men having been sent out on duty before that crisis. David Crocket, of Tennessee, who had a few years before represented a squatter constituency in Congress, where his oratory was distinguished for hard sense and rough grammar, had joined the garrison a few weeks before, as had also J. B. Bonham, Esq., of South Carolina, who had lately come to volunteer in the cause of Texas, and was considered one of the most chivalrous and estimable of its supporters. I pair them, a rough gem and a polished jewel, because their names are among the best known of those who fell; but I am not aware that either of them had any command.

The main army of operation against Texas moved from



Laredo upon San Antonio in four successive detachments. This was rendered necessary by the scarcity of pasture and water on certain portions of the route. The lower division, commanded by Brigadier-General Urrea, moved from Matamoros on Goliad by a route near the coast, and a short time after the fall of the Alamo achieved the capture and massacre of Fannius' command.

The advance from Laredo, consisting of the dragoon regiment of Delores and three battalions of infantry, commanded by Santa Ana in person, arrived at San Antonio on the afternoon of February 22. No regular scouting service seems to have been kept up from the post of Bowie and Travis, owing probably to division and weakness of authority, for, though the enemy was expected, his immediate approach was not known to many of the inhabitants till the advance of his dragoons was seen descending the slope west of the San Pedro. A guard was kept in town with a sentinel on the top of the church, yet the surprise of the population was so nearly complete that one or more American residents engaged in trade fled to the Alamo, leaving their stores open. The garrison, however, received more timely notice, and the guard retired in good order to the fort. The confusion at the Alamo, which for the time being was great, did not impede a prompt show of resistance. In the evening, soon after the enemy entered the town, a shot from the 18-pounder of the fort was answered by a shell from the invaders; and this was followed by a parley, of which different accounts have been given. According to Santa Ana's official report, after the shell was thrown, a white flag was sent out by the garrison with an offer to evacuate the fort if allowed to retire unmolested and in arms, to which reply was made that no terms would be admitted short of an unconditional surrender. Seguin, however, gave me a more reliable version of the affair. He related that after the firing a parley was sounded and a white flag raised by the invaders. Travis was not inclined to respond to it; but Bowie, without consulting him, and much to his displeasure, sent a flag of truce to demand what the enemy wanted. Their General, with his usual duplicity, denied having sounded a parley or raised a flag, and informed the messenger that the garrison could be recognized only as rebels, and be allowed no other terms than a surrender at discretion. When informed of this, Travis harangued his men and administered to them an oath that they would resist to the last.

The officers obtained a supply of corn, and added to their stock of beef after the enemy entered the town. On the same day a well, which a fatigue party had been digging within the walls, struck a fine vein of water. This was fortunate; for the irrigating canal, which flowed past the foot of the wall, was shortly after cut off by the enemy. The investment had not yet commenced, nor was the firing, I think, renewed that evening, and the few citizens who had taken refuge in the fort succeeded in leaving it during the night, if not earlier.

On the night of the 22d of February the enemy planted two batteries on the west side of the river, one bearing west and the other southwest from the Alamo, with a range which no houses then obstructed. They were the next day silenced by the fire of the 18-pounder of the fort, but were restored to activity on the following night. On the 24th another body of Mexican troops, a regiment of cavalry and three battalions of infantry arrived; and then the fort was invested and a regular siege commenced, which, counting from that day till the morning of the 6th of March, occupied eleven days. By the 27th seven more besieging batteries were planted, most of them on the east side of the river, and bearing on the northwest, southwest, and south of the fort; but there were none on the east. As that was the only direction in which the garrison would be likely to attempt retreat, Santa Ana wished to leave a temptation to such flitting, while he prepared to intercept it by forming his cavalry camp on what is now called the Powder House Hill, east of the Alamo.

During the first few days occasional sallies were made by the garrison to obstruct the enemy's movements and burn houses which might cover them. The operations of the siege, which, omitting the final assault, are probably given correctly in Yoakum's History of Texas, consisted of an active but rather ineffective cannonade and bombardment, with occasional skirmishing by day and frequent harassing alarms at night, designed to wear out the garrison with want of sleep. No assault was attempted, though it has been so asserted, till the final storming took place. The enemy had no siege train, but only light field pieces and howitzers; yet a breach was opened in the northern barrier, Q, near the northeast angle, and the chapel was the only building that withstood the cannonade firmly, as the balls often went clean through the walls of the others. Yet, when I saw them unrepaired five years later, they seemed less battered than might have been expected.

The stern resistance which had sprung up in the demoralized band within, and the comparative unity and order which must have come with it, were ushered in by a scene which promised no such outcome. The first sight of the enemy created as much confusion with as little panic at the Alamo as might be expected among men who had known as little of discipline as they did of fear. Mr. Lewis, of San Antonio, informed me that he took refuge for a few hours in the fort when the invaders appeared, and the disorder of the post begged description. Bowie with a detachment was engaged in breaking open deserted houses in the neighborhood and gathering corn, while another squad was driving cattle into the enclosure east of the long barrack. Some of the volunteers, who had sold their rifles to obtain the means of dissipation, were clamoring for guns of any kind; and the rest, though in arms, appeared to be mostly without orders or a capacity for obedience. No "army in Flanders" ever swore harder. He saw but one officer, who seemed to be at his proper post and perfectly collected. This was an Irish Captain named Ward, who, though generally an inveterate drunkard, was now sober, and stood quietly by the guns of the south battery, ready to use them. Yet amid the disorder of that hour no one seemed to think of flight; the first damaging shock, caused by the sight of the enemy, must have been cured by the first shell that he threw; and the threat conveyed by Santa Ana's message seems to have inspired a greater amount of discipline than those men had before been thought capable of possessing. The sobered toper who stood coolly by his guns was the first pustule which foretold a speedy inoculation of the whole mass with that qualification.

The conflict of authority between Bowie and Travis, owing probably to the caution in which neither was deficient, had luckily produced no serious collision; and it was perhaps as fortunate that, at about the second day of the siege, the rivalry was cut short by a prostrating illness of the former, when Bowie was stricken by an attack of pneumonia, which would probably have proved fatal, had not its blow been anticipated by the sword. This left Travis in undisputed command.

The investment was not too rigid to admit of the successful exit of couriers by night, and one or two had been sent out, since the enemy appeared, with letters to Colonel Fannin at Goliad, asking for aid. On the 29th of February it was re-

solved to send an officer, who, in addition to bearing despatches, might make his own influence and information available to accomplish the object of his mission. Captain Seguin was recommended by most of the officers; for, as he was of Spanish race and language, and well acquainted with the surrounding country, it was thought that he would be more likely than any one of his rank to succeed in passing the enemy's lines. Travis wished to retain him in the garrison; but at a council of war, held on the night of the 29th, he yielded to the wishes of the majority. That night Seguin and his orderly, Antonio Cruz Oroche, prepared for the sally. Another of his Mexican recruits, named Alexandro de la Garza, had already been sent as a courier to the Provisional Government. Having no horse or equipments for himself, the Captain requested and obtained those of Bowie, who was already so ill that he hardly recognized the borrower. To him and the rest Seguin bade what proved to be a last adieu, and sallying from the postern on the northern side, took the high road to the east. As might be expected, the rank and file had begun to look with jealousy on any departure from within, though of but one or two; and when Seguin produced the order which was to pass him and his orderly out, the sentinel at the postern began a rude comment; but a few words from the Captain, intimating that his errand was one which might bring safety, at once soothed the rough soldier, who bade him God-speed.

The road which the two horsemen took passed near the cavalry camp of the enemy, and where it crossed their lines was stationed a guard of dragoons, who were then resting, dismounted. Seguin and his man rode leisurely up towards them, responding in Spanish to the hail of their sentinel that they were countrymen. They were doubtless taken for Mexican rancheros of that neighborhood, and seemed to be riding up to report; but, when near enough for a bold start, they dashed past the guard at full speed. The hurried fire of the troopers was ineffective, and before they were in the saddle the fugitives, who were both well mounted, were far ahead. The latter then took to the bush and made good their escape. The next day Seguin met an officer from Fannin's post, who informed him that his mission would be wholly unavailing, and advised him to join the camp then forming at Gonzales, which he did.

On the following night, the 1st of March, a company of thirty-two men from Gonzales made its way through the

enemy's lines, and entered the Alamo never again to leave it. This must have raised the force to 188 men or thereabout, as none of the original number of 156 had fallen.

On the night of the 3d of March, Travis sent out another courier with a letter of that date to the government, which reached its destination. In that last despatch he says: "With a hundred and forty-five men I have held this place ten days against a force variously estimated from 1,500 to 6,000, and I shall continue to hold it till I get relief from my countrymen, or I will perish in the attempt. We have had a shower of bombs and cannon-balls continually falling among us the whole time, yet none of us have fallen. We have been miraculously preserved." As this was but two days and three nights before the final assault, it is quite possible that not a single defender was stricken down till the fort was stormed. At the first glance it may seem almost farcical that there should be no more result from so long a fire, which was never sluggish; but if so, this was a stage on which farce was soon to end in tragedy, and those two elements seem strangely mingled through the whole contest. But the fact above referred to was not really farcical, however singular, and it serves merely to illustrate the mysterious doctrine of chance. It must have tended to uphold the determination of men in a situation where the favor of luck is so apt to be accepted as the shielding of Providence. Travis, when he said, "We have been miraculously preserved," no doubt expressed a sincere feeling, in which his companions shared; for such fancies are apt to take a strong contagious hold of men who stand day after day unharmed within a step of death. It is a time when the fierce, profane, and dissolute often begin for the first time to look upward. It is worthy of note that, although the readiness of couriers to go out indicates a consciousness that the chance of life was at least as good without as within, we know not of a single case of night flitting. Brute bravery or reckless despair would hardly have produced this without some exceptions. The incident of the sentinel at the postern probably showed what were prevailing traits.—scorn of desertion with readiness for hope. In many a rough bosom that hope had probably a new and half-comprehended faith under it. Though the hope was disappointed, I trust that the faith was not all in vain.

In stating the force of the garrison during the previous ten days, Travis did not include the little re-enforcement which had

come in only two days before ; yet, as he mentions but 145, while the garrison is known to have numbered 156 when the enemy appeared, he must have rated eleven as ineffective or absent. A part of them may have been counted out as departed couriers, and the rest had perhaps sunk under the fatigue of duty. Had there been any wounded, he would probably have referred to them.

On the 4th of March Santa Ana called a council of war, and fixed on the morning of the 6th for the final assault. The besieging force now around the Alamo, comprising all the Mexican troops which had yet arrived, consisted of the two dragoon regiments of Dolores and Tampico, which formed a brigade, commanded by General Andrade, two companies or batteries of artillery under Colonel Ampudia, and six battalions of infantry, namely, Los Zapadores (engineer troops), Jimenes, Guerrero, Matamoros, Toluca, and Tres Villas. These six battalions of foot were to form the storming forces. The order for the attack, which I have read, but have no copy of, was full and precise in its details, and was signed by General Amador, as Chief of Staff. The infantry were directed at a certain hour between midnight and dawn to form at convenient distances from the fort in four columns of attack and a reserve. These dispositions were not made by battalions, for the light companies of all were incorporated with the Zapadores to form the reserve, and other transpositions were made. A certain number of scaling ladders, axes, and fascines were to be borne by particular columns. A commanding officer, with a second to replace him in case of accident, was named, and a point of attack designated for each column. The cavalry were to be stationed at suitable points around the fort to cut off fugitives. From what I have learned from men engaged in the assault, it seems that these dispositions were modified before it was carried out so as to combine the five bodies of infantry, including the reserve, into only three columns of attack, thus leaving no actual reserve but the cavalry. The immediate direction of the assault seems to have been intrusted to General Castrillon, a Spaniard by birth and a brilliant soldier. Santa Ana took his station, with a part of his staff and all the bands of music, at a battery about five hundred yards south of the Alamo and near the old bridge, from which post a signal was to be given by a bugle-note for the columns to move simultaneously at double-quick time against

the fort. One, consisting of Los Zapadores, Toluca, and the light companies, and commanded by Castrillon, was to rush through the breach on the north; another, consisting of the battalion of Jimenes and other troops, and commanded by General Cos, was to storm the chapel; and a third, whose leader I do not recollect, was to scale the west barrier. Cos, who had evacuated San Antonio a year before under capitulation, was assigned to the most difficult point of attack, probably to give him an opportunity to retrieve his standing. By the timing of the signal it was calculated that the columns would reach the foot of the wall just as it should become sufficiently light for good operation.

When the hour came, the south guns of the Alamo were answering the batteries which fronted them: but the music was silent till the blast of a bugle was followed by the rushing tramp of soldiers. The guns of the fort opened upon the moving masses, and Santa Ana's bands struck up the assassin note of *deguello*, or no quarter. But a few and not very effective discharges of cannon from the works could be made before the enemy were under them, and it was probably not till then that the worn and wearied garrison was fully mustered. Castrillon's column arrived first at the foot of the wall, but was not the first to enter. The guns of the north, where Travis commanded in person, probably raked the breach, and this or the fire of the riflemen brought the column to a disordered halt, and Colonel Duque, who commanded the battalion of Toluca, fell dangerously wounded; but, while this was occurring, the column from the west crossed the barrier on that side by escalade at a point north of the centre, and, as this checked resistance at the north, Castrillon shortly after passed the breach. It was probably while the enemy was thus pouring into the large area that Travis fell at his post, for his body, with a single shot in the forehead, was found beside the gun at the northwest angle. The outer walls and batteries, all except one gun, of which I will speak, were now abandoned by the defenders. In the mean time Cos had again proved unlucky. His column was repulsed from the chapel, and his troops fell back in disorder behind the old stone stable and huts that stood south of the southwest angle. There they were soon rallied and led into the large area by General Amador. I am not certain as to his point of entrance, but he probably followed the escalade of the column from the west.

This all passed within a few minutes after the bugle sounded. The garrison, when driven from the thinly manned outer defences, whose early loss was inevitable, took refuge in the buildings before described, but mainly in the long barrack: and it was not till then, when they became more concentrated and covered within, that the main struggle began. They were more concentrated as to space, not as to unity of command: for there was no communicating between buildings, nor, in all cases, between rooms. There was little need of command, however, to men who had no choice left but to fall where they stood before the weight of numbers. There was now no retreating from point to point, and each group of defenders had to fight and die in the den where it was brought to bay. From the doors, windows, and loopholes of the several rooms around the area the crack of the rifle and the hiss of the bullet came fierce and fast: as fast the enemy fell and recoiled in his first efforts to charge. The gun beside which Travis fell was now turned against the buildings, as were also some others, and shot after shot was sent crashing through the doors and barricades of the several rooms. Each ball was followed by a storm of musketry and a charge: and thus room after room was carried at the point of the bayonet, when all within them died fighting to the last. The struggle was made up of a number of separate and desperate combats, often hand to hand, between squads of the garrison and bodies of the enemy. The bloodiest spot about the fort was the long barrack and the ground in front of it, where the enemy fell in heaps.

Before the action reached this stage, the turning of Travis' gun by the assailants was briefly imitated by a group of the defenders. "A small piece on a high platform," as it was described to me by General Bradburn, was wheeled by those who manned it against the large area after the enemy entered it. Some of the Mexican officers thought it did more execution than any gun which fired outward; but after two effective discharges it was silenced, when the last of its cannoneers fell under a shower of bullets. I cannot locate this gun with certainty, but it was probably the twelve-pound carronade which fired over the centre of the west wall from a high commanding position. The smallness assigned to it perhaps referred only to its length. According to Mr. Ruiz, then the Alcalde of San Antonio, who, after the action, was required to point out the slain leaders to



Santa Ana, the body of Crocket was found in the west battery just referred to; and we may infer that he either commanded that point or was stationed there as a sharpshooter. The common fate overtook Bowie in his bed in one of the rooms of the low barrack, when he probably had but a few days of life left in him; yet he had enough remaining, it is said, to shoot down with his pistols more than one of his assailants ere he was butchered on his couch. If he had sufficient strength and consciousness left to do it, we may safely assume that it was done.

The chapel, which was the last point taken, was carried by a *coup de main* after the fire of the other buildings was silenced. Once the enemy in possession of the large area, the guns of the south could be turned to fire into the door of the church, only from fifty to a hundred yards off, and that was probably the route of attack. The inmates of this last stronghold, like the rest, fought to the last, and continued to fire down from the upper works after the enemy occupied the floor. A Mexican officer told of seeing one of his soldiers shot in the crown of the head during this *mé-éc*. Towards the close of the struggle Lieutenant Dickenson, with his child in his arms, or, as some accounts say, tied to his back, leaped from the east embrasure of the chapel, and both were shot in the act. Of those he left behind him, the bayonet soon gleaned what the bullet had left, and in the upper part of that edifice the last defender must have fallen. The morning breeze which received his parting breath probably still fanned his flag above that fabric, for I doubt not he fell ere it was pulled down by the victors.

The Alamo had fallen: but the impression it left on the invader was the forerunner of San Jacinto. It is a fact not often remembered that Travis and his band fell under the Mexican Federal flag of 1824, instead of the Lone Star of Texas, although Independence, unknown to them, had been declared by the new Convention four days before at Washington, on the Brazos. They died for a Republic of whose existence they never knew. The action, according to Santa Ana's report, lasted thirty minutes. It was certainly short, and possibly no longer time passed between the moment the enemy entered the breach and that when resistance died out. The assault was a task which had to be carried out quickly or fail. Some of the incidents which have to be related separately occurred simultaneously, and all occupied very little time. The

account of the assault which Yoakum and others have adopted as authentic is evidently one which popular tradition has based on conjecture. By a rather natural inference it assumes that the enclosing walls, as in the case of regular forts, were the principal works, and that in storming these the main conflict took place. The truth was, these extensive barriers formed in reality nothing more than the outworks, speedily lost, while the buildings within constituted the citadel and the scene of sternest resistance. Yoakum's assertion that Santa Ana, during the height of the conflict, was under the works, urging on the escalade in person, is exceedingly fabulous. Castrillon, not Santa Ana, was the soul of the assault. The latter remained at his south battery, viewing the operations from the corner of a house which covered him, till he supposed the place was nearly mastered, when he moved up towards the Alamo, escorted by his aids and bands of music, but turned back on being greeted by a few shots from the upper part of the chapel. He, however, entered the area towards the close of the scene, and directed some of the last details of the butchery. It cannot be denied that Santa Ana in the course of his career showed occasional fits of dashing courage, but he did not select this field for an exhibition of that quality. About the time the area was entered, a few men, cut off from inward retreat, leaped from the barriers, and attempted flight, but were all sabred or speared by the cavalry except one, who succeeded in hiding himself under a small bridge of the irrigating ditch. There he was discovered and reported a few hours after by some laundresses engaged in washing near the spot. He was executed. Half an hour or more after the action was over a few men were found concealed in one of the rooms under some mattresses. General Houston, in his letter of the 11th, says as many as seven; but I have generally heard them spoken of as only four or five. The officer to whom the discovery was first reported entreated Santa Ana to spare their lives; but he was sternly rebuked, and the men ordered to be shot, which was done. Owing to the hurried manner in which the mandate was obeyed, and the confusion prevailing at the moment, a Mexican soldier was accidentally killed with them. A negro belonging to Travis, the wife of Lieutenant Dickenson, who at the time was *enroute*, and a few Mexican women with their children were the only inmates of the fort whose lives were spared. The massacre involved no women and but one

child. Lieutenant Dickenson commanded the gun at the east embrasure of the chapel. His family was probably in one of the small vaulted rooms of the north projection, which will account for his being able to take his child to the rear of the building when it was being stormed. An irrigating canal ran below the embrasure, and his aim may have been to break the shock of his leap by landing in the mud of that waterless ditch, and then try to escape, or he may have thought that so striking an act would plead for his life; but the shower of bullets which greeted him told how vain was the hope. The authenticity of this highly dramatic incident has been questioned, but it was asserted from the first, and was related to me by an eye-witness engaged in the assault.\*

It was asserted on the authority of one of the women that, while the church was being stormed, Major Evans, the Master of Ordnance, rushed with a torch or burning match towards the magazine of the fort to fire it, when he was shot down before his object was accomplished. It may seem unlikely that any of the women would be in a position to witness such an incident, but they may have been put into the magazine as a place most sheltered from the enemy's shots. The powder was probably stored in the little vaulted room on the north of the chapel which I have just referred to. †

There were two officers of the name just mentioned in the garrison of the Alamo, Major Robert Evans, Master of Ordnance, an Irishman, and Captain J. B. Evans, of Texas, a nephew of General Jacob Brown, who formerly commanded the United States army.

I must now endeavor to approximate as nearly as can be done by inference, for I have no direct data, to the number of troops engaged in the assault and the amount of their loss,—

\* I had for several years in Texas as a servant one of the Mexican soldiers captured at San Jacinto, Sergeant Becero, of the battalion of Matamoras. He was in the assault, and witnessed Dickenson's leap. He also saw the body of Bowie on his bed, where he had been killed, and witnessed the execution of the few men who were found in concealment after the action was over. He did not know the names of Bowie or Dickenson, and related the circumstances, not in reply to inquiries, but in a natural way as recollections in narrating his experience. Many absurd stories about the admissions made by Mexicans touching the force of the assailants and the amount of their loss at the Alamo are based on sycophantic statements, drawn by leading questions from prisoners of the lower class.

† In 1841 the husband of one of the Mexican women who were with the garrison during the siege and assaults pointed out to me the vaulted room referred to, and observed, "During the fight and massacre five or six women stood in that room all in a huddle." He was an intelligent man, but so given to embellishing whatever he related that I did not then rely much on his information; but I have since called it to mind in connection with what is above said. This man did not refer to Evans' attempt, nor did he say that the cell referred to was used for storing powder, but, according to my recollection, it was the most fitting place for a magazine which I saw about the Alamo.

matters which have been the subject of absurd perversion on both sides. The old popular tale of Texas that the Alamo was stormed by ten thousand men, of whom a thousand or more were killed, shows how rapidly legend may grow up even in this age, and the belief which has been given to it is worthy of an era when miracles were considered frequent. The entire force with which Santa Ana invaded Texas in 1836, and which after his defeat he rated at 6,000 men, probably amounted to 7,500 or 8,500, as it consisted of seventeen corps: viz., three regiments of horse and fourteen battalions of foot. It is proper here to observe that the Mexicans apply the term regiment only to cavalry corps, a Colonel's command of infantry being always called a battalion. The nominal complement of a regiment or battalion is 1,500; but I never heard of one that was full, and seldom saw one during my long residence in Mexico that contained as much as a third of that number. I doubt if it is considered convenient ever to swell one to over 500 men; for the host of officers who have sufficient influence to obtain commands can be supplied only by keeping up the number of corps at the expense of their fulness. I saw all the corps composing the said army when it retreated from Texas to Matamoros after the campaign of 1836, and from the size of those which had not been in action, as well as from the remaining bulk of those which had suffered, after allowing for probable loss, I am convinced that their average strength when they entered Texas was short of 500 men each, and that the smaller of the two amounts I have assigned to the aggregate is most likely to be true.

This estimate applies especially to the six battalions of infantry which formed the assaulting force of the Alamo. They may possibly have numbered 3,000 men; but from the best information and inference I have been able to gather, I believe that their aggregate did not exceed and may have fallen short of 2,500. Santa Ana's invariable practice was to exaggerate his force before an action, by way of threat, and to underrate it after, whether to excuse defeat or magnify victory; and in accordance with this trickery, in his report of the taking of the Alamo, he sets down his storming force at 1,400, his loss of 60 killed and 300 wounded, and the number of the garrison all told and all killed at 600. Where the slaughter was wrought by good fire-arms in good hands at close quarters there would hardly be such disparity between the number of killed and

wounded. The probability is that he struck off an even thousand from the round numbers of the assaulters and a hundred or two from the number of his killed, while he made out as big a butchery of rebels as Mexican credulity would swallow. If we correct his falsification on this assumption, he had in the assault 2,400, and lost in killed and wounded 460 or 560. Anselmo Borgara, a Mexican, who first reported the fall of the Alamo to General Houston, at Gonzales, having left San Antonio the evening after it occurred, stated that the assaulting force amounted to 2,300 men, of whom 521 were killed and as many wounded. He had probably found means of ascertaining with approximate correctness the number of infantry at San Antonio; but his report of the loss has evidently acquired its bulk by the process of doubling. Neither Mexican troops nor any others are apt to take forts with a loss of more than two-fifths of their number. He had probably heard of 521 as the total of killed and wounded, and then converted the whole into the former and supposed an equal amount of the latter. The odd numbers attached to the hundreds, and the limits which probability would assign to a large loss, favor the belief that he had heard the result of an actual count of the whole deficit. This analysis of falsehood may not be a very sure way of finding out truth, but it is not without value when it has some corroboration. The Mexican officers captured at San Jacinto, including Santa Ana's secretary, as I was told by Colonel Seguin, were generally of the opinion that the loss at the Alamo in killed and wounded was about 500. Some rated it lower, and others higher; and one, but only one, went as high as 700. The opinions of such enlisted men as I have conversed with were about the same as those of the officers, ranging from four to six hundred. Nothing is more apt to make an exaggerated impression on the casual view than a field of slaughter, and I think that the higher of the above estimates may be errors of that kind. General Bradburn, who was at the scene of action soon after it occurred, believed that the eventual loss to the service (killed and disabled for life) would be 300. This I consider equivalent to 500 killed and wounded, and it is my opinion that the Mexican loss at the Alamo differed little from that number.

Now, if 500 men were bullet-stricken by 180 in half an hour or little more, it was a rapidity of bloodshed which needs no exaggeration; but it may require strong proofs to save it from

the imputation of fiction, for defenders of better forts than the Alamo seldom slay many times more than their own number, unless they possess extraordinary means or opportunities for destruction. The slaughter was not in this case the carnage of unresisted pursuit, like that of San Jacinto, nor the sweeping havoc of cannon under favorable circumstances, like that of Sandusky. The main element of defence was the individual valor and skill of men who had few advantages of fortification, ordnance, discipline, or command. All their deficiencies, which were glaring, serve only to enhance the merit of individuality, in which no veterans could have excelled them. It required no ordinary bravery, even in greatly superior numbers, to overcome a resistance so determined. The Mexican troops displayed more of it in this assault than they have done on almost any other occasion; but it must be remembered that better troops than those of Santa Ana always fail under loss as heavy as romance often assigns to the assailants of the Alamo.

If we owe to departed heroes the duty of preserving their deeds from oblivion, we ought to feel as strongly that of defending their memory against the calumnious effect of false eulogy, which in time might cause their real achievements to be doubted.\*

Santa Ana, when he marched on Texas, counted on finding a fortified position at or near San Antonio, but supposed it would be at the Mission of Concepcion, an old church, two miles below the town. That strong building, with the aid of obedience and labor, might have been converted into a tenable

\* A brief account of the fall of the Alamo, related in legendary style by Francisco Ruiz, who lived at San Antonio when the event occurred, was published in the *Texas Almanac* of 1860. The narrator shows total ignorance of the details of the assault, which he blends with a cannonade between batteries that went before it, and, if the printer has not blundered for him, imagines that the storming of the fort began at 3 P.M. on the 6th. This is so contrary to the recollection of old residents, that it began at dawn, and was soon over, that I think "P.M." must have been printed in place of A.M. He asserts that, after a long attack and repeated repulses, it ended with the scaling of the outer wall, which formed the final success. He has no knowledge of the speedy loss of the outward barriers, or of the main conflict inside. He rates the besieging forces at 4,000, which would be correct if the eight corps, including two of cavalry, numbered 500 each. He sets down Santa Ana's loss at 1,600, and in a way to imply that this was the number of killed. Now, estimating the force at 4,000, and leaving out 1,000 cavalry for outside service, the storming masses would consist of 3,000 infantry. If 1,600 were killed, the wounded would cover the remainder, and the total of assailants as well as of defenders must have gone down. If he means that the loss was 1,600 killed and wounded, it was heavy enough to render success impossible, and to cripple the army too much for the prompt and active campaigning on which it immediately entered. The battalion of Toluca, he says, numbered 800, of whom only 130 men were left alive. If 670 were killed, the small remainder must have been disabled. The whole corps went to the graveyard and hospital; yet eight weeks after a part of it was killed and taken at San Jacinto, and a small remnant retreated to Matamoros. So absurd a narrative would not be worth referring to, had it not been quoted in a San Antonio newspaper of 1860 as a testimony of an eye-witness conflicting with my former publication.

fort, not too large to be manned by the garrison of the Alamo. An assault made there by even a larger force than that which captured the other fort might have met with a bloody repulse, which would have led to the rescue of the garrison and changed the character of the campaign, which in that event would probably have been terminated west of the Guadalupe. But such a transfer of garrison and armament was impossible in the state of discipline and command which the foregoing narrative shows to have existed.

A military lesson, though not a new one, may be derived from the fall of the Alamo. Among the essential qualities of a soldier we must consider not only the discipline and subordination that blends him with the mass in which the word of command moves him, but also the individual self-reliance and efficiency which may restore the battle even after the mass is broken. From the lack of the former quality the men of the Alamo were lost: by their possession of the latter they became in the last struggle as formidable as veterans, and died gloriously; and in a better position they would have been saved by it. Though the latter quality depends more on nature than the former, it admits of development, and the perfection of training neglects neither.

Neither Travis nor Bowie had much of the experience or instruction of the soldier, and they were the reverse of each other in certain antecedents and outward traits. The latter in his youth had been noted for daring in bloody personal fends, and his name has attached to it a characteristic memento in the designation of a homicidal knife, whose pattern he originated. Travis, though ambitious and not backward in revolutionary movements, had been in civil life habitually cautious in avoiding broils and personal collisions, so much so that the rougher class of his contemporaries took for signs of timidity what I believe merely indicated a cool temper and guarded deportment. That he was deficient in courage is contradicted, not only by the closing scenes of his life and his heroic death, but by the testimony of one who had the best opportunity of judging. Colonel Seguin, who was frequently with him under fire, not only on the works, but in the early sallies of the siege, was convinced that Travis possessed a high degree of constitutional bravery.

The garrison of the Alamo, in personal character, was made up of diverse elements, whose relative proportions cannot now

be ascertained. The ruffian, filibuster type, men whose death alone redeemed their life, of course comprised no small part of it, but with them stood also those who, like the band from Gonzales, were fighting for near homes, where their kindred dwelt; and among the newcomers was perhaps an equal number of honorable men, who, like Bonham and Crocket, had an honest faith and generous zeal in the cause they espoused. There were probably few among the lowest of that garrison who lacked the redeeming trait of bravery, and among men of that character common danger is sure to bring out the better qualities in all who share it. When no enemy was in sight, the bad element showed its numerical strength; but when peril came over all, the good asserted its power, and the evil in a measure assimilated to it. It requires no stretch of charity, then, to believe that many a rough wight whose highest aspirations had heretofore been for plunder felt a thrill akin to that of the patriot when he died for a land which he could not yet claim as his own.

Of the details contained in my former brief publication and in this article, I obtained many from General Bradburn, who arrived at San Antonio, I think, two days after the action, and gathered many of its particulars from officers who were in it, one of whom went over the ground with him.\* A few incidents I had through a friend from General Amador. Others I received from three intelligent sergeants, one of whom, Sergeant Becero, I have already mentioned. They were men of fair education, and, I think, truthful witnesses. From men of their class I could generally get more candid statements as to loss and relative strength than from commissioned officers. I also gathered some minor particulars from local tradition of a reliable kind, preserved among the residents of San Antonio. When some of the details earliest learned were acquired, I had not seen the locality; and hence I afterwards had to locate some of the occurrences by inference, which I have done as carefully as possible. After my publication of 1860, as already mentioned, I obtained some additional information from Colonel

\* General Bradburn was a Virginian, who had been in the service of Mexico since the time of Mina's expedition, in which he held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and took a distinguished part. In 1836, when he was on the retired list of the Mexican army, he was ordered, much against his wishes, to join Santa Ana in his campaign against Texas. He reported to Santa Ana soon after the fall of the Alamo, and at his own request was assigned to an unimportant post (Copano landing) where he would not be likely to come into contact with the forces of Texas. Bradburn had a few years before commanded in Texas, and had come unpleasantly into contact with a revolutionary element which did not then culminate in revolution.



Seguin \* and Mr. Lewis, of San Antonio. The former had had better facilities than any one else in the service of Texas for obtaining and comparing the statements of Mexican officers captured at San Jacinto. These new lights enabled me to correct some errors and many omissions in regard to the fort, its armament and garrison, as well as the siege and assault.

The stranger will naturally inquire where lie the heroes of the Alamo, and Texas can reply only by a silent blush. A few hours after the action the bodies of the slaughtered garrison were gathered by the victors, laid in three heaps, mingled with fuel, and burned, though their own dead were interred. On the 25th of February, 1837, the bones and ashes of the defenders were, by order of General Houston, collected, as well as could then be done, for burial by Colonel Seguin, then in command at San Antonio. The bones were placed in a large coffin, which, together with the gathered ashes, was interred with military honors. The place of burial was a peach orchard, then outside of the Alamo village and a few hundred yards from the fort. When I was last there, in 1861, it was still a large enclosed open lot, though surrounded by the suburb which had there grown up; but the rude landmarks which had once pointed out the place of sepulture had long since disappeared. Diligent search might then have found it, but it is now densely built over, and its identity is irrecoverably lost. This is too sad for comment.

A small but finely executed monument, made from the stones of the Alamo in 1841 by an artist named Nangle, was subsequently purchased by the State of Texas, and now stands in the vestibule of the Capitol at Austin, but neither at the Alamo itself, nor at the forgotten grave of its defenders, does any legend or device, like the stone of Thermopylae, remind the passer by of those who died in obedience to the call of their adopted country.

\* Colonel Seguin served gallantly as a Captain under General Houston at San Jacinto, and subsequently commanded a regiment. His zealous adherence to the cause of Texas throughout the campaign of 1836, and for some years after, is undoubted; and his subsequent defection from that cause may be palliated by the popular harshness, endangering life, to which he became subject, and which in a manner drove him to a step of which he evidently repented. I have no reason to doubt the candor and correctness of anything which he related in matters whereon I have cited his authority. He had no motive to misrepresent anything which was not personal to himself, nor did he seem to color unduly what was. A man may be a correct narrator in spite of political errors.

On the 2d of March, 1836, the delegates of the people of Texas in general convention at Washington on the Brazos declared their independence of Mexico. Their Declaration of Independence may be read in the appendix to Kennedy's History of Texas, vol. ii., and elsewhere. On the same day General Samuel Houston, the Texan commander-in-chief, issued a proclamation announcing that war was waging on the frontier, and Bexar besieged by 2,000 of the enemy, while the garrison was only 150 strong. "The citizens of Texas must rally to the aid of our army, or it will perish. Independence is declared: it must be maintained. Immediate action, united with valor, alone can achieve the great work." But the immediate action was too late. Already Santa Anna and his forces were closing in around the faded little band in the Alamo at San Antonio; and between midnight and dawn on the morning of March 6 came the terrible assault described in the leaflet, from which not one of the 180 Texans escaped alive, although before the last man died 500 of their assailants had fallen. No fiercer or more heroic fight was ever seen in America or in the world. The Texan force was under the command of William Barrett Travis, whose last letter, to the president of the convention at Washington, dated March 3, is given in Kennedy, vol. ii., p. 184. Its last words were: "The bearer of this will give your honorable body a statement more in detail, should he escape through the enemies' lines. *God and Texas! Victory or Death!*" Extracts from Almonte's Journal, on the Mexican side, are also given in Kennedy. Certain details of the massacre were supplied by Mrs. Dickenson, the wife of one of the massacred men, who along with a negro servant was spared.

The account of the battle in Yokum's History of Texas should be consulted. In the large new History of Texas by Wooten a special chapter on the "Siege and Fall of the Alamo" is contributed by Seth Shepard, and this is of great value. Judge Shepard pronounces Captain Potter's account, printed in the present leaflet, "the most accurate account that has yet appeared." Captain Potter was, at the time of the siege, a resident of Matamoros. He knew many of the leading Mexican officers personally, and his critical investigations were of such a nature that his paper has the value of an original document. It was first printed in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1878, and is reprinted here by the permission of the publishers, Messrs. A. S. Barnes & Co.

On the capital grounds at Austin, Tex., stands a monument to the heroes of the Alamo, erected in 1891, with the inscription: "Thermopylae had her messenger of defeat: the Alamo had none."

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No. 10

# The Discovery of the Columbia River.

EDWARD G. PORTER.\*

## I. THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE COLUMBIA.

Few ships, if any, in our merchant marine, since the organization of the Republic, have acquired such distinction as the "Columbia."

By two noteworthy achievements a hundred years ago she attracted the attention of the commercial world, and rendered a service to the United States unparalleled in our history. She was the first American vessel to carry the stars and stripes around the globe; and, by her discovery of "the great river of the West," to which her name was given, she furnished us with the title to our possession of that magnificent domain, which to-day is represented by the flourishing young States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

The famous ship was well known and much talked about at the time; but her records have mostly disappeared, and there is very little knowledge at present concerning her.

The committee for the centennial observance, at Astoria, of the "Columbia's" exploit having applied to the writer for information upon the subject, in which they are naturally so much interested, he gladly responds by giving an outline of the facts, gathered mainly from private sources and illustrated by original drawings made at the time on board the ship and hitherto not known to the public.

\* This paper was first printed in the *New England Magazine*, June, 1892, the Oregon centennial year, under the title of "The Ship 'Columbia' and the Discovery of Oregon," illustrated by original drawings made at the time on board the ship. Many of the facts were gathered by Mr. Porter from private sources, giving his account, the most careful and valuable which exists, a high original value.—*Editor*.

The publication in 1784 of Captain Cook's journal of his third voyage awakened a wide-spread interest in the possibility of an important trade on the northwest coast. In Boston there were a few gentlemen who took up the matter seriously, and determined to embark in the enterprise on their own account. The leading spirit among them was Joseph Barrell, a merchant of distinction, whose financial ability, cultivated tastes, and wide acquaintance with affairs gave him a position of acknowledged influence in business and social circles.

Associated with him in close companionship was Charles Bulfinch, a recent graduate of Harvard, who had just returned from pursuing special studies in Europe. His father, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, lived on Bowdoin Square, and often entertained at his house the friends who were inclined to favor the new project. They read together Cook's report of an abundant supply of valuable furs offered by the natives in exchange for beads, knives, and other trifles. These sea-otter skins, he said, were sold by the Russians to the Chinese at from £16 to £20 each. "Here is a rich harvest," said Mr. Barrell, "to be reaped by those who go in first."

Accordingly, in the year 1787, they made all the necessary arrangements for fitting out an expedition. The other partners were Samuel Brown, a prosperous merchant; John Derby, a shipmaster of Salem; Captain Crowell Hatch, a resident of Cambridge; and John Marden Pintard, of the well-known New York house of Lewis Pintard & Co.

These six gentlemen subscribed over \$50,000, dividing the stock into fourteen shares, and purchased the ship "Columbia," or, as it was after this often called, the "Columbia Rediviva." She was built in 1773 by James Briggs at Hobart's Landing, on the once busy little stream known as North River, the natural boundary between Scituate and Marshfield. One who sees it to-day peacefully meandering through quiet meadows and around fertile slopes would hardly believe that over a thousand sea-going vessels have been built upon its banks.

The "Columbia" was a full-rigged ship, 83 feet long, and measured 212 tons. She had two decks, a figure-head, and a square stern, and was mounted with ten guns. A consort was provided for her in the "Washington" or "Lady Washington" as she was afterwards called, a sloop of 90 tons, designed especially to collect furs by cruising among the

islands and inlets of the coast in the expected trade with the Indians. These vessels seem ridiculously small to us of the present day, but they were staunchly built and manned by skilful navigators.

As master of the "Columbia," the owners selected Captain John Kendrick, an experienced officer of about forty-five years of age, who had done considerable privateering in the Revolution, and had since been in charge of several vessels in the merchant service. His home was at Wareham, where he had built a substantial house and reared a family of six children. The venerable homestead may still be seen, shaded by trees which the captain planted. For the command of the sloop a man was chosen who had been already in the service of two of the owners, Messrs. Brown and Hatch, as master of their ship "Pacific" in the South Carolina trade. This was Captain Robert Gray, an able seaman, who had also been an officer in the Revolutionary navy, and who was a personal friend of Captain Kendrick. Gray was a native of Tiverton, R.I., and a descendant of one of the early settlers at Plymouth. After his marriage, in 1794, his home was in Boston, on Salem Street, where he had a family of five children. His great-grandson, Mr. Clifford Gray Twombly, of Newton, has inherited one of the silver cups inscribed with the initials "R. G." which the captain carried with him around the world. His sea-chest is also in good condition, and is now presented by his grand-daughter, Miss Mary E. Bancroft, of Boston, to the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society for preservation among its relics.

Sea Letters were issued by the federal and state governments for the use of the expedition, and a medal was struck to commemorate its departure. Hundreds of these medals — in bronze and pewter — were put on board for distribution among the people whom the voyagers might meet, together with a much larger number of the new cents and half-cents which the State of Massachusetts had coined that year. Several of these medals and coins have since been found on the track of the vessels, among Indians, Spaniards, and Hawaiians. A few in silver and bronze are preserved in the families of some of the owners.

Neither pains nor expense were spared to give these vessels a complete outfit. The cargo consisted chiefly of the necessary stores and a good supply of hardware — useful tools and uten-

sils — to be exchanged for furs on the coast. There were also numerous trinkets to please the fancy of the natives, such as buttons, toys, beads, and necklaces, jew's-harps, combs, earrings, looking-glasses, snuff, and snuff-boxes.

The writer has full lists of the officers and crew. Kendrick's first mate was Simeon Woodruff, who had been one of Cook's officers in his last voyage to the Pacific. The second mate was Joseph Ingraham, who was destined, later on, to be a conspicuous figure in the trade which he helped to inaugurate. The third officer was Robert Haswell, the son of a lieutenant in the British navy, who for some years had lived at Nantasket (now Hull).

Haswell was an accomplished young officer and kept a careful record of the expedition, from which much of our most accurate information is derived. He was also a clever artist and made some of the sketches of the vessels, which are here reproduced for the first time. Next to him was John B. Cordis, of Charlestown. Richard S. Howe was the clerk; Dr. Roberts, the surgeon; and J. Nutting, the astronomer — or schoolmaster, as he was sometimes called. Mr. Treat shipped as furrier, and Davis Coolidge as first mate on the sloop.

On the 30th of September, 1787, the two vessels started on their long voyage. Many friends accompanied them down the harbor, and bade them farewell.

The owners had given each commander minute instructions as to the route and the manner of conducting their business. They were to avoid the Spaniards, if possible, and always treat the Indians with respect, giving them a fair compensation in trade. The skins, when collected, were to be taken to Canton and exchanged for teas, which were to form the bulk of the cargo back to Boston.

They had a good run to the Cape Verde Islands, where they remained nearly two months for some unexplained cause. The delay occasioned much discontent among the officers, and Woodruff and Roberts left the ship. At the Falkland Islands there was no wood to be had, but plenty of geese and ducks, snipe and plover. They lingered here too long, and Kendrick was inclined to wait for another season before attempting the passage around Cape Horn, but he was induced to proceed; and on the 28th of February, 1788, they resumed their voyage, Haswell having been transferred to the sloop as second mate. They soon ran into heavy seas; and for nearly a month they

encountered severe westerly gales, during which the "Columbia" was thrown upon her beam ends, and the little "Washington" was so completely swept by the waves that all the beds and clothing on board were completely drenched, with no opportunity to dry them.

Early on the morning of April 1 the vessels lost sight of each other in latitude  $57^{\circ} 57'$  south and longitude  $92^{\circ} 40'$  west. It was intensely cold, and a hurricane was raging. The crews were utterly exhausted, and hardly a man was able to go aloft.

At last, on the 14th, the skies brightened, and they had their first welcome to the Pacific; but they could no longer see anything of each other, and so each vessel proceeded independently the rest of the way. The sloop lay to off the island of Masafuero, but the surf was so heavy that they could not land. At Ambrose Island they sent a boat ashore, and found plenty of fish and seals, but no fresh water, so they were obliged to put themselves on a short allowance. Almost every day they saw dolphins, whales, sea-lions, and grampuses. In June they caught the northeast trade-wind; and on the 2d of August, to their inexpressible joy, they saw the coast of New Albion in latitude  $41^{\circ}$ , near Cape Mendocino. A canoe came off with ten natives, making signs of friendship. They were mostly clad in deerskins. Captain Gray gave them some presents.

And now for a time our mariners enjoyed a little, well-earned rest, and feasted their eyes upon the green hills and forests as they cruised leisurely along the coast. The large Indian population was revealed by the camp-fires at night and by the columns of smoke by day. Many of them came paddling after the sloop, waving skins and showing the greatest eagerness to get aboard. Others were evidently frightened, and fled to the woods.

In latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$  they found a harbor which they took to be "the entrance of a very large river, where great commercial advantages might be reaped." This was probably the Alseya River in Oregon, which is not as large as they thought. The natives here were warlike, and shook long spears at them, with hideous shouts and an air of defiance. Near Cape Look-out they "made a tolerably commodious harbor," and anchored half a mile off. Canoes brought out to them delicious berries and crabs, ready-boiled, which the poor seamen gladly bought for buttons, as they were already suffering from scurvy.

The next day seven of these men were sent ashore in the boat with Coolidge and Haswell to get some grass and shrubs for their stock. The captain's boy, Marcos, a black fellow who had shipped at St. Iago, accompanied them: and, while he was carrying grass down to the boat, a native seized his cutlass, which he had carelessly stuck in the sand, and ran off with it toward the village. Marcos gave chase, shouting at the top of his voice. The officers at once saw the peril, and hastened to his assistance. But it was too late. Marcos had the thief by the neck; but the savages crowded around, and soon drenched their knives in the blood of the unfortunate youth. He relaxed his hold, stumbled, rose again, and staggered toward his friends, but received a flight of arrows in his back, and fell in mortal agony. The officers were now assailed on all sides, and made for the boat as fast as possible, shooting the most daring of the ringleaders with their pistols, and ordering the men in the boat to fire and cover their retreat. One of the sailors who stood near by to help them was totally disabled by a barbed arrow, which caused great loss of blood. They managed, however, to get into the boat and push off, followed by a swarm of canoes. A brisk fire was kept up till they neared the sloop, which discharged several swivel shot, and soon scattered the enemy. It was a narrow escape. Captain Gray had but three men left aboard; and, if the natives had captured the boat's crew, as they came so near doing, they could easily have made a prize of the sloop. Murderers' Harbor was the appropriate name given to the place. Haswell thought it must be "the entrance of the river of the West," though it was by no means, he said, "a safe place for any but a very small vessel to enter." This was probably near Tillamook Bay. Some of the maps of that time had vague suggestions of a supposed great river, whose mouth they placed almost anywhere between the Straits of Fuca and California. When Gray was actually near the river which he afterward discovered, he had so good a breeze that he "passed a considerable length of coast" without standing in: otherwise the Centennial of Oregon might have been celebrated in 1888 instead of 1892. How slight a cause may affect the whole history of a nation!

Farther north they saw "exceeding high mountains, covered with snow" (August 21), evidently Mount Olympus. A few days later the painstaking mate writes, "I am of opinion that the Straits of Juan de Fuca exist, though Captain Cook posi-



tively asserts it does not." Passing up the west shore of the island now bearing Vancouver's name, they found a good, sheltered anchorage, which they named Hancock's Harbor for the governor under whose patronage they had sailed. This was in Clayoquot Sound, where, on their next voyage, they spent a winter.

At last, on the 16th of August, 1788, the sloop reached its destined haven in Nootka Sound. Two English snows from Macao, under Portuguese colors, were lying there,—the "Felice" and the "Iphigenia,"—commanded by Captains Meares and Douglas, who came out in a boat and offered their assistance to the little stranger. The acquaintance proved to be friendly, although there were evidences later on of a disguised jealousy between them.

Three days later the English launched a small schooner which they named "Northwest America," the first vessel ever built on the coast. It was a gala-day, fittingly celebrated by salutes and festivities, in which the Americans cordially joined. The "Washington" was now hauled up on the ways for graving, and preparations began to be made for collecting furs.

One day, just a week after their arrival, they saw a sail in the offing, which, by their glasses, they soon recognized as the long-lost "Columbia." Great was their eagerness to know what had befallen her. As she drew nearer, it became evident that her crew were suffering from scurvy, for her topsails were reefed and her topgallant masts were down on deck, although it was pleasant weather. Captain Gray immediately took the long boat and went out to meet her, and shortly before sunset she anchored within forty yards of the sloop. She had lost two men by scurvy, and many of the crew were in an advanced stage of that dreaded disease. After parting off Cape Horn, they encountered terrific gales, and suffered so much damage that they had to put in at Juan Fernandez for help. They were politely received by the governor, Don Blas Gonzales, who supplied them with everything they needed. The kind governor had to pay dearly for this; for, when his superior, the captain-general of Chile, heard of it, poor Gonzales was degraded from office; and the viceroy of Peru sanctioned the penalty. Jefferson afterward interceded for him at Madrid, but he was never reinstated. Who would have believed that a service of simple humanity to a vessel in distress would cause such a hubbub? By her cruel censure of an act of mercy

toward the first American ship that ever visited her Pacific dominions, Spain seems to have been seized with a kind of prophetic terror, as if anticipating the day when she would have to surrender to the stars and stripes a large share of her supremacy in the West.

After tarrying at Juan Fernandez seventeen days, the "Columbia" continued her voyage without further incident to Nootka. Captain Kendrick now resumed the command of the expedition. In a few days occurred the anniversary of their departure from Boston, and they all observed it heartily. The officers of all the vessels were invited to dine on board the "Columbia"; and the evening was spent in festive cheer,—a welcome change to those homesick exiles on that dreary shore.

It was decided to spend the winter in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound; and a house was built large enough for the entire crew. They shot an abundance of game, prepared charcoal for their smiths, and worked their iron into chisels which were in good demand among the natives. To their surprise one morning they found that the Indians had landed and carried off fifteen water-casks and five small cannon which Captain Douglas had given them. This was a heavy loss; and, as the miscreants could not be found, the coopers had to go to work and make a new set of casks.

In March, 1789, the "Washington" was painted and sent on a short cruise, while the "Columbia" was removed a few miles up the Sound to a place which they named Kendrick's Cove, where a house was built with a forge and battery. In May the sloop started out again for furs, and met the Spanish corvette "Princesa," whose commander, Martinez, showed great kindness to Gray, giving him supplies of brandy, wine, hams, and sugar; but he said he should make a prize of Douglas if he found him.

At one place a large fleet of canoes came off in great parade, and offered their sea-otter skins for one chisel each. Our men readily bought the lot,—two hundred in number,—worth from six to eight thousand dollars. This was the best bargain they ever made, as they could seldom get a good skin for less than six or ten chisels. An average price was one skin for a blanket; four, for a pistol; and six, for a musket. Gray then stood southward and went into Hope Bay, and later into a place called by the natives Chickleset, where there was every appearance of a good harbor. He then visited the

islands of the north, and gave names to Cape Ingraham, Pintard Sound, Hatch's Island, Derby Sound, Barrell's Inlet, and Washington's Islands (now known as Queen Charlotte's), whose mountain tops were covered with snow, even in summer. It is a pity that most of the names given by our explorers in that region have been changed, so that it is not easy to identify all the places mentioned by them.

Returning to Nootka, they found the Spaniards claiming sovereignty over all that region, detaining the English vessels and sending the "Argonaut" with her officers and crew as prisoners to San Blas. The schooner "Northwest America," which Meares had built, was seized and sent on a cruise under command of Coolidge, and her crew and stores were put on the "Columbia" to be taken to China. Serious complications between England and Spain grew out of these high-handed proceedings, resulting in the "Nootka Convention," as it was called,—the famous treaty of October, 1790, by which war was averted and a new basis of agreement established between the two powers.

Another important change now took place. Captain Kendrick concluded to put the ship's property on board the sloop, and go on a cruise in her himself, with a crew of twenty men, while Gray should take the "Columbia," reinforced by the crew of the prize schooner, to the Sandwich Islands, and get provisions for the voyage to China, and there dispose of the skins. Ingraham and Haswell decided to go with Gray, while Cordis remained with Kendrick. And so the two vessels parted company.

The "Columbia" left Clayoquot July 30, 1789, and spent three weeks at the Hawaiian Islands, laying in a store of fruits, yams, potatoes, and hogs. They were kindly received there; and a young chief, Attoo (sometimes called the crown prince), was consigned to Captain Gray's care for the journey to Boston, under the promise that he should have an early opportunity to return. They had a good run to China, and reached Whampoa Roads on the 16th of November. Their agents at Canton were the newly established Boston firm of Shaw & Randall, who also attended to consular duties. It was an unfavorable season for trade, and their thousand sea-otter skins had to be sold at a sacrifice. The ship was repaired at great expense and made ready for a cargo of teas.

The following bill of lading should have a place here:—

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good order and condition, by Shaw and Randall, in and upon the good Ship called the "Columbia," whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage Robert Gray, and now Riding at Anchor at Wampoa, and by God's Grace bound for Boston in America — to say, 220 chests bohea Tea, 170 Half chests do, 144 quarter chests do — — to be delivered — — unto Samuel Parkman Esquire, or to his assigns — — and so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety — Amen. Dated in Canton Feb. 3, 1790.

(signed)

ROBERT GRAY.

Kendrick reached Macao January 26, with his sails and rigging nearly gone ; and, being advised not to go up to Canton, he went over to "Dirty Butter Bay," — a lonely anchorage near the "outer waters," — and there waited for an opportunity to dispose of his five hundred skins, and perhaps also to sell the sloop.

The "Columbia" passed down the river, February 12, on her homeward voyage ; but a gale of wind prevented her seeing her old consort.

Between Canton and Boston the "Columbia" took the usual route by the Cape of Good Hope, calling only at St. Helena and Ascension Islands. She reached her destination on the 10th of August, 1790, having sailed, by her log, about 50,000 miles. Her arrival was greeted with salvos of artillery and repeated cheers from a great concourse of citizens. Governor Hancock gave an entertainment in honor of the officers and owners. A procession was formed ; and Captain Gray walked arm in arm with the Hawaiian chief, the first of his race ever seen in Boston. He was a fine-looking youth, and wore a helmet of gay feathers, which glittered in the sunlight, and an exquisite cloak of the same yellow and scarlet plumage. The governor entertained the company with fitting hospitality, and many were the congratulations extended on all sides to the men who had planned and to those who had executed this memorable voyage.

It must be said that, financially, the enterprise was not of much profit to the owners, two of whom sold out their interest to the others ; but, nevertheless, it was an achievement to be proud of, and it prepared the way for a very large and remunerative trade in subsequent years. Indeed, so hopeful were the remaining owners regarding it that they immediately projected a second voyage.

## II. THE SECOND VOYAGE.

No sooner had the "Columbia" discharged her cargo than she was taken to a shipyard and thoroughly overhauled, and furnished with new masts and spars and a complete outfit as expeditiously as possible.

An important sea-letter was granted by the President and another by Governor Hancock, and still others by the foreign consuls resident in Boston. The owners prepared specific instructions for Captain Gray, directing him to proceed with all despatch, to take no unjust advantage of the natives, to build a sloop on the coast during the winter, to visit "Japan and Pekin," if possible, for the sale of his furs. He was not to touch at any Spanish port nor trade with any of the subjects of his Catholic majesty "for a single farthing." He was charged to offer no insult to foreigners, nor to receive any "without showing the becoming spirit of a free, independent American." And he was to be as a father to his crew. He was not to stop till he reached the Falkland Islands, and then only for a short time.

The officers under Captain Gray were assigned in the following order: Robert Haswell, of whom we have heard much already; Joshua Caswell, of Malden; Owen Smith; Abraham Waters, who had served as seaman on the previous voyage; and John Boit. The clerk was John Hoskins who had been in the counting-house of Joseph Barrell, and who afterward became a partner of his son. George Davidson, of Charlestown, shipped as painter; and that he was an artist as well is evident from the interesting drawings which he made on the voyage, and which, through the kindness of his descendants and those of Captain Gray, are given with this narrative, though of necessity somewhat reduced in size. The Hawaiian, Jack Attoo, went back as cabin-boy. The sturdy carpenter of the ship was Samuel Vendell, of the old North End of Boston. He had served in the frigate "Tartar" when a mere boy, and he helped to build the famous "Constitution." He lived to be the last survivor of the "Columbia's" crew, dying at the ripe age of ninety-two years in 1861. He was always known as an upright, temperate, and industrious man. The present governor of Massachusetts, William Eustis Russell, is his great-grandson, and evidently inherits the faculty of building the ship — of State.

The "Columbia" left Boston on the 28th of September, 1790, calling only at the Falkland Islands, and arrived at Clayoquot June 4, 1791,—a quicker passage by nearly four months than the previous one. Obedient to his instructions, the captain soon went on a cruise up the coast, passing along the east side of Washington's Islands (Queen Charlotte's) and exploring the numerous channels and harbors of that picturesque but lonely region.

On the 12th of August he had the great misfortune to lose three of his men—Caswell, Barnes, and Folger—who were cruelly massacred by the savages at a short distance from the ship in the jolly-boat. He succeeded in recovering the boat and the body of Caswell, which he took over to Port Tempest and buried with fitting solemnity. It was a sad day for the "Columbia's" crew. They named the spot Massacre Cove, and the headland near by Murderers' Cape.

Another instance of the treacherous character of the natives occurred while Captain Kendrick was trading with the "Washington" in this same region. Knowing their pilfering habits, he took care to keep all portable articles out of sight when they were around; and he had a rule that more than two of them should never be allowed on board at once. He kept a large chest of arms on deck, near the companion-way, and wore a brace of pistols and a long knife conspicuously in his belt; and then he would fire a gun to let the Indians know that he was ready to trade. On this occasion they did not seem disposed to come any nearer; and so he went into the cabin, to talk with his clerk. While there, he suddenly heard a native laugh on deck. He sprang up, and found a whole row of them crouching all around the sides of the vessel. Turning to the arms-chest, he saw the key was gone, and at once demanded it of the nearest Indian, who said in reply, "The key is mine, and the ship is mine, too!" Kendrick, without further ceremony, seized the fellow and pitched him overboard. A moment more, and the whole set had disappeared. They all jumped into the water without waiting for the captain's assistance.

It was near this shore, also, while cruising in the "Washington," that Kendrick's son Solomon was killed by the natives. The father demanded redress of the chief, who denied all knowledge of the deed. Meanwhile Kendrick's men found the son's scalp with its curly sandy hair, and there was no

mistake about its identity. The chief relented, and gave up the murderer to Kendrick, who, in his indignation, was prompted to shoot him on the spot. But pausing a moment, the captain wisely concluded that the future safety of white men would be better promoted by a different course. He, therefore, handed over the culprit to be punished by the chief in the presence of a large assembly of his tribe. There was a well-known song, commemorating this event, quite popular with sailors. It was afterward printed, and bore the title "The Bold Nor'westman." It gave very pathetically the story of the murder and of the father's grief. The first lines were,—

"Come, all ye noble seamen,  
Who plough the raging main."

After the burial of Caswell the "Columbia" sailed around to the north side of Washington's Islands, and found a fine navigable stream, which they called Hancock's River. The native name was Masset, which it still bears. Here they were glad to meet the Boston brig "Hancock," Captain Crowell, with later news from home.

Returning to Clayoquot, they found Kendrick in the harbor, and gave him three cheers. He told them that after the tedious sale of his skins at Macao he began to make the sloop into a brig. This took so much time that he lost the season on the coast, and stayed at Lark's Bay till the spring of '91, when he sailed in company with Douglas and touched at Japan, and was the first man to unfurl the American flag in that land. He sought to open a trade, but was ordered off, as might have been expected, had he known the rigidly exclusive policy of the Japan of that time. Kendrick had called at Nootka, where, he said, the Spaniards treated him kindly, and sent him daily supplies of "greens and salads." He had come down to Clayoquot to haul up the "Lady Washington," now a brigantine, to grave at a place which he had fortified and named Fort Washington.

During this sojourn, Kendrick purchased of the principal chiefs several large tracts of land, for which he paid mostly in arms and ammunition. The lands were taken possession of with much ceremony, the United States flag hoisted, and a bottle sunk in the ground. Kendrick sailed for China, September 29, taking with him the deeds, which were duly registered, it was said, at the consulate in Canton. Duplicate copies were prepared, one of which was sent to Jefferson and

filed in the State Department at Washington. The originals were signed by the chiefs (as documents are signed by people who can only make their "mark"), and witnessed by several of the officers and crew of the vessel. These deeds ran somewhat as follows:—

In consideration of six muskets, a boat's sail, a quantity of powder, and an American flag (they being articles which we at present stand in need of, and are of great value) we do bargain, grant, and sell unto John Kendrick of Boston, a certain harbor in said Ahasset, in which the brig "Washington" lay at anchor on the 5th of August, 1791, Latitude  $49^{\circ} 50'$  . . . with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, harbors, sounds, creeks, and all islands . . . with all the produce of land and sea being a territorial distance of eighteen miles square . . . to have and to hold, etc.

The names of some of the signing chiefs were Maquinna, Wicananish, Narry Yonk, and Tarrasone.

It was Captain Gray's intention to go into winter quarters at Naspatee, in Bulfinch Sound, and he hastened that way; but, being thwarted by contrary winds, they put in at Clayoquot, and, finding excellent timber for the construction of the proposed sloop, he decided to remain there. The ship was made as snug as possible in a well-sheltered harbor, which they called Adventure Cove. The sails were unbent, the topgallant, topmasts, and yards were unrigged and stowed below. A space was cleared on shore, and a log-house built, the crew all working with a will. One party went out cutting plank, another to shoot deer and geese. The carpenters soon put up a very substantial building to accommodate a force of ten men, containing a chimney, forge, workshop, storeroom, and sleeping-bunks. It served, also, the purpose of a fort, having two cannon mounted outside and one inside through a porthole. All around there were loopholes for small arms.

This they called Fort Defence, and here they lived like civilized and Christian men. The log reports: "On Sunday all hands at rest from their labors. Performed divine service."

The keel of the sloop was soon laid, and the work went bravely forward. The sketch of this scene shows Captain Gray conferring with Mr. Yendell about the plan of the sloop.

The days grew short and cold, the sun being much obscured by the tall forest trees all around them. Some of the men were taken ill with colds and rheumatic pains, and had to be



removed aboard ship. The natives of the adjoining tribe became quite familiar. The chiefs and their wives visited the fort and the ship almost every day, coming across the bay in their canoes. The common Indians were not allowed to land, a sentinel being always on guard, night and day. Captain Gray was disposed to be very kind to the natives. He often visited their villages, carrying drugs, rice, bread, and molasses for their sick people. Going one day with his clerk, Hoskins, they persuaded a woman to have her face washed, when it appeared that she had quite a fair complexion of red and white, and "one of the most delightful countenances," says Hoskins, "that my eyes ever beheld. She was indeed a perfect beauty!" She got into her canoe, and soon after returned with her face as dirty as ever. She had been laughed at by her companions for having it washed. It was a common practice among some of the tribes for both sexes to slit the under lip and wear in it a plug of bone or wood, fitted with holes from which they hung beads.

On the 18th of February, several chiefs came over as usual, among them Tototeescosettle. Alas for poor human nature! he was detected stealing the boatswain's jacket. Soon after he had gone, Attoo, the Hawaiian lad, informed the captain of a deep-laid plot to capture the ship. The natives, he said, had promised to make him a great chief if he would wet the ship's fire-arms and give them a lot of musket-balls. They were planning to come through the woods and board the ship from the high bank near by, and kill every man on board except Attoo. Gray's excitement can be easily imagined. All his heavy guns were on shore; but he ordered the swivels loaded at once, and the ship to be removed away from the bank. Haswell put the fort in a good state of defence, reloaded all the cannon, and had the small arms put in order. The ship's people were ordered aboard. At dead of night the war-whoop was heard in the forest. The savages had stealthily assembled by hundreds; but, finding their plan frustrated, they reluctantly went away. On the 23d of February the sloop was launched, and taken alongside the "Columbia." She was named the "Adventure," and reckoned at 44 tons. Upon receiving her cargo and stores, she was sent northward on a cruise under Haswell. She was the second vessel ever built on the coast, and proved to be a good seaboat, and could even outsail the "Columbia."

Gray soon after took his ship on a cruise which was destined to be the most important of all,—one that will be remembered as long as the United States exist. On the 29th of April, 1792, he fell in with Vancouver, who had been sent out from England with three vessels of the Royal Navy as commissioner to execute the provisions of the Nootka Treaty, and to explore the coast. Vancouver said he had made no discoveries as yet, and inquired if Gray had made any. The Yankee captain replied that he had; that in latitude  $46^{\circ} 10'$  he had recently been off the mouth of a river which for nine days he tried to enter, but the outset was so strong as to prevent. He was going to try it again, however. Vancouver said this must have been the opening passed by him two days before, which he thought might be “a small river,” inaccessible on account of the breakers extending across it, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent. “Not considering this opening worthy of more attention,” wrote Vancouver in his journal, “I continued our pursuit to the northwest.” What a turn in the tide of events was that! Had the British navigator really seen the river, it would certainly have had another name and another history.

Gray continued his “pursuit” to the southeast, whither the star of his destiny was directing him. On the 7th of May he saw an entrance in latitude  $46^{\circ} 58'$  “which had a very good appearance of a harbor”; and, observing from the masthead a passage between the sand bars, he bore away and ran in. This he called Bulfinch Harbor, though it was very soon after called, as a deserved compliment to him, Gray’s Harbor,—the name which it still bears. Here he was attacked by the natives, and obliged in self-defence to fire upon them with serious results. Davidson’s drawing gives a weird view of the scene.

On the evening of May 10 Gray resumed his course to the south; and at daybreak, on the 11th, he saw “the entrance of his desired port” a long way off. As he drew near about eight o’clock, he bore away with all sails set, and ran in between the breakers. To his great delight he found himself in a large river of fresh water, up which he steered ten miles. There were Indian villages at intervals along the banks, and many canoes came out to inspect the strange visitor.

The ship came to anchor at one o’clock in ten fathoms of water, half a mile from the northern shore and two miles and a half from the southern, the river being three or four miles

wide all the way along. Here they remained three days busily trading and taking in water.

On the 14th he stood up the river some fifteen miles farther, "and doubted not it was navigable upwards of a hundred." He found the channel on that side, however, so very narrow and crooked that the ship grounded on the sandy bottom; but they backed off without difficulty. The jolly-boat was sent out to sound the channel, but, finding it still shallow, Gray decided to return; and on the 15th he dropped down with the tide, going ashore with his clerk "to take a short view of the country."

On the 16th he anchored off the village of Chenook, whose population turned out in great numbers. The next day the ship was painted, and all hands were busily at work. On the 19th they landed near the mouth of the river, and formally named it, after the ship, the COLUMBIA, raising the American flag and planting coins under a large pine-tree, thus taking possession in the name of the United States. The conspicuous headland was named Cape Hancock, and the low sandspit opposite, Point Adams.

The writer is well aware that the word "discovery" may be taken in different senses. When it is claimed that Captain Gray *discovered* this river, the meaning is that he was the first white man to cross its bar and sail up its broad expanse, and give it a name. Undoubtedly, Carver—to whom the word "Oregon" is traced—may have heard of the river in 1767 from the Indians in the Rocky Mountains; and Heceta, in 1775, was near enough to its mouth to believe in its existence; and Meares, in 1788, named Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay. But none of these can be properly said to have *discovered* the river. Certainly, Meares, whose claim England maintained so long, showed by the very names he gave to the cape and the "bay" that he was, after all, deceived about it; and he gives no suggestion of the river on his map. D'Aguilar was credited with finding a great river as far back as 1603; but, according to his latitude, it was not this river; and, even if it was, there is no evidence that he entered it.

The honor of discovery must practically rest with Gray. His was the first ship to cleave its waters; his, the first chart ever made of its shores; his, the first landing ever effected there by a civilized man; and the name he gave it has been universally accepted. The flag which he there threw to the breeze was the first ensign of any nation that ever waved over those unexplored

banks. And the ceremony of occupation, under such circumstances, was something more than a holiday pastime. It was a serious act, performed in sober earnest, and reported to the world as soon as possible.

And when we remember that as a result of this came the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-5, and the settlement at Astoria in 1811,—to say nothing of our diplomatic acquisition of the old Spanish rights,—then we may safely say that the title of the United States to the Columbia River and its tributaries becomes incontestable. Such was the outcome of the "Oregon Question" in 1846.

On leaving the river, May 20, the "Columbia" sailed up to Naspattee, where she was obliged to use her guns to check a hostile demonstration of the savages. And soon after, in going up Pintard's Sound, she was again formidably attacked by war canoes, and obliged to open fire upon them with serious results.

In a cruise soon after, the ship struck on a rock and was so badly injured that she returned to Naspattee and underwent some repairs and then sailed for Nootka, and on July 23 reported her condition to the governor, Don Quadra, who generously offered every assistance, allowed them his storehouses for their cargo, gave up the second-best house in the settlement for the use of Captain Gray and his clerk, and insisted upon having their company at his own sumptuous table at every meal. Such politeness was, of course, very agreeable to the weary voyagers, and was held in such grateful remembrance in subsequent years that Captain Gray named his first-born child, Robert Don Quadra Gray, for the governor as well as himself. It was during this visit that Gray and Ingraham wrote their joint letter to the governor, which was—often quoted in the course of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations. In September Gray sold the little sloop "Adventure" to Quadra for seventy-five sea-otter skins of the best quality, and transferred her officers and crew to the "Columbia."

As he sailed away, he saluted the Spanish flag with thirteen guns, and shaped his course for China. As the season was late and the winds unfavorable, he abandoned the project of visiting Japan, which the owners had recommended. Great was the joy of the crew when they found themselves homeward bound. They had an easy run to the Sandwich Islands, where they took in a supply of provisions and fruit, sailing again No-

vember 3, and reaching Macao Roads December 7, in a somewhat leaky condition. The skins were sent up to Canton, and the ship was repaired near Whampoa, and duly freighted with tea, sugar, chinaware, and curios.

On the 3d of February the "Columbia" set sail for Boston. While at anchor, near Bocca Tigris, her cable was cut by the Chinese, and she drifted slowly ashore, almost unobserved by the officer of the watch. This proved to be the last of her tribulations, as it was also one of the least. In the Straits of Sunda they met a British fleet escorting Lord Macartney, the ambassador, to Pekin, for whom Captain Gray took despatches as far as St. Helena.

At last, after all her wanderings, the good ship reached Boston, July 29, 1793, and received another hearty welcome. Although the expectations of the owners were not realized, one of them wrote "she has made a saving voyage and some profit." But in the popular mind the discovery of the great river was sufficient "profit" for any vessel; and this alone will immortalize the owners as well as the ship and her captain, far more, indeed, than furs or teas or gold could have done.

It remains only to add that in a few years the ship was worn out and taken to pieces, and soon her chief officers all passed away. Kendrick never returned to America. After opening a trade in sandal-wood, he was accidentally killed at the Hawaiian Islands, and the "Lady Washington" was soon after lost in the Straits of Malacca. His Nootka lands never brought anything to the captain or his descendants or to the owners of the ship. In fact, the title was never confirmed. Gray commanded several vessels after this, but died in 1806 at Charleston, S.C. Ingraham became an officer in our navy, but went down with the ill-fated brig "Pickering" in 1800. The same year Davidson was lost on the "Rover" in the Pacific. Haswell sailed for the last time in 1801, and was also lost on the return voyage.

Their names, however, will always be associated with the ship they served so well; and, as long as the broad "river of the West" flows on in its course, so long will the "Columbia" be gratefully remembered by the people of America. This [1892] is the year of Oregon's first Centennial, and the enthusiasm it has awakened clearly shows that the highest honor on that coast will hereafter be given to the heroic discoverers who prepared the way for the pioneers and settlers, and thus added a fine group of States to our federal Union.

*Extract from the second Volume of the Log-book of the Ship Columbia, of Boston, commanded by Robert Gray, containing the Account of her Entrance into the Columbia River, in May, 1792.\**

*May 7th, 1792, A.M.*—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At one P.M., the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half-past three, bore away, and ran in north-east by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At five P.M., came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom with a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

*May 10th.*—Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon, all the canoes left us. At one P.M., began to unmoor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half-past four (being high water), hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.

*May 11th.*—At half-past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At eight P.M., the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-south-east half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main-top-gallant-yard, and set all sail. At four A.M., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues: in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight A.M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the Harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one P.M., came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles' distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives

\*This extract was made in 1816, by Charles Bulfinch, of Boston, one of the owners of the Columbia, from the second volume of the log-book, which was then in the possession of Captain Gray's heirs, but has since disappeared. It has been frequently published, accompanied by the affidavit of Mr. Bulfinch to its exactness. It is reprinted here from Greenhow's History of Oregon.

came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

*May 12th.*—Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables: sent down the main-top-gallant-yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

*May 13th.*—Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives alongside; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

*May 14th.*—Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river north-east by east; we found the channel very narrow. At four P.M., we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half-past four, the ship took ground, but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedg and hawser. The jolly-boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable any farther up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends, with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

*May 15th.*—Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At ten A.M., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring-place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

*May 16th.*—Light airs and cloudy. At four A.M., hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb-tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At ten A.M., a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way, and beat down river. At one (from its being very squally) we came to, about two miles from the village (*Chinook*), which bore west-south-west; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.

*May 17th.*—Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

*May 18th.*—Pleasant weather. At four in the morning, began to heave ahead; at half-past, came to sail, standing down river with the ebb-tide; at seven (being slack water and the wind fluttering,) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore south-west by west, distant three miles. The north point

of the harbor bore north-west, distant two miles; the south bore south-east, distant three and a half miles. At nine, a breeze sprung up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to with the kedg and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon, pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At one came to sail with the first of the ebb-tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three-quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship, and stood into the river again. At four, came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.

*May 19th.*—Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments. Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River*, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock*; the south, *Adams's Point*.

*May 20th.*—Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At one P.M. (being full sea), took up the anchor, and made sail, standing down river. At two, the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three-quarters past two, a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail, and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At five P.M., we were out, clear of all the bars, and in twenty fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At eight, Cape Hancock bore south-east, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At nine, in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

*May 21st.*—At six A.M., the nearest land in sight bore east-south-east, distant eight leagues. At seven, set top-gallant-sails and light stay-sails. At eleven, set steering-sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bullinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.

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#### CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY'S SEA LETTER.

*"To all Emperors, Kings, Sovereign princes, State and Regents and to their respective officers, civil and military and to all others whom it may concern.*

"I, George Washington, President of the United States of America do make known that Robert Gray, Captain of a ship called the *Columbia*, of the burden of about 230 tons, is a citizen of the United States and that the said ship which he commands belongs



to the citizens of the United States and as I wish that the said Robert Gray may prosper in his lawful affairs, I do request all the before mentioned, and of each of them separately, when the said Robert Gray shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they will be pleased to receive him with kindness and treat him in a becoming manner &c. and thereby I shall consider myself obliged.

"September 16, 1790 — New York City

[Seal U. S.]

"GEO. WASHINGTON,  
*President.*

"THOMAS JEFFERSON,  
*"Secy. of State."*

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"When in 1826 the rights of the United States in regard to Oregon were formulated and made the subject of consideration by plenipotentiaries on the parts of Great Britain and the United States, the claims of the latter were urged on three grounds, the most important or first being from their own proper right, which was founded on Gray's discovery of the Columbia River. If Vancouver had discovered the Columbia prior to Gray, it is impossible to say what complications and results would have arisen in connection with the extension and development of the United States. It is therefore a source of endless gratification that Captain Robert Gray, by his courage, enterprise and seamanship, in discovering and entering the Columbia, ultimately secured to the United States this fertile territory, almost twice as extensive in area as Great Britain. With its six hundred and sixty thousand of inhabitants [1893], its great cities, its enormous accumulations of wealth, the young empire added to the United States through Robert Gray is fast shaping into substance the golden visions of the enthusiastic Kendrick."—*General A. W. Greely.*

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Rev. Edward G. Porter, for so many years the warm friend of the Old South Work, an indelitable worker in many fields of American history, and especially in whatever related to the history of Boston, gave us in the paper here reprinted the best connected account of the important event which so closely links Boston and New England, the extreme northeast of the country, with its extreme northwest. It was with the expeditions of Kendrick and Gray that "the 'Bostons' came into rivalry with the 'King George men' as explorers and traders" on the Oregon coast. Much information concerning these expeditions, with full references to original authorities, may be found in Bancroft's *History of the Pacific States*, vol. xxii. 185-204. Bancroft had in his hands and frequently quotes manuscript narratives of the two voyages by Haswell, "given me by Captain Haswell's daughter, Mrs. John J. Clarke, of Roxbury, Mass." The first diary (65 pages) covers 1788-89; the second, 1791-92. Of the latter Bancroft says: "It is a document of great interest and value, and includes a number of charts. The original contains also views of several places, the author having

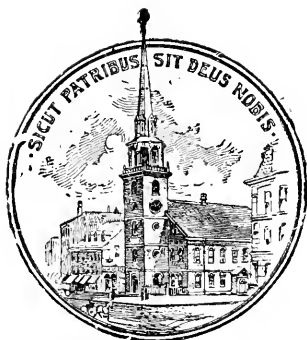
much skill with the pencil." Several of Haswell's drawings were reproduced in connection with Mr. Porter's paper when it originally appeared.

The letter of Gray and Ingraham to the Spanish commandant, written at Nootka Sound, Aug. 3, 1792, referred to in the leaflet, is printed in the appendix to Greenhow's History of Oregon and California, which contains much besides of value in the general connection. W. H. Gray's History of Oregon begins with an account of Captain Gray's discovery. There are various histories of Oregon by Dunn, Thornton, Hines, Twiss, Wilkes, and others. The most interesting is that by William Barrows, in the American Commonwealths Series. The chapter on "The Claims of the United States to Oregon" deals specifically with the subject of the leaflet. The list of authorities given by Barrows is very full; and in this connection reference should be made to W. E. Foster's "Bibliography of Oregon," in the *Magazine of American History*, vii. 461. The first chapter of Bulfinch's "Oregon and Eldorado" is a description of Gray's voyage: the second chapter is upon Lewis and Clark's expedition. There is a capital chapter on Gray, in General A. W. Greely's "Explorers and Travellers," also followed by one on Lewis and Clark. Irving's "Astoria" is well known. T. J. Farnham's History of Oregon Territory (1844) is "a demonstration of the title of the United States to the same." Captain Gray's discovery naturally plays an important part in this, as also in W. A. Mowry's pamphlet on "Our Title to Oregon." Mr. Mowry has taken prominent part in the controversy as to the extent of Marcus Whitman's services in "saving Oregon," in which Nixon, Marshall, Bourne, and others have participated. Full references relating to the Oregon boundary disputes may be found in Chanring and Hart's "Guide to American History."

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## Report on the War with Mexico

PREPARED BY CHARLES SUMNER.

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Bill No. 187, April, 1847.*

In an age when peace prevails over a larger surface of the globe than has ever before confessed its benign presence, our country finds itself involved in war. The general harmony is broken by our discord with a neighbor and sister republic. Enormous appropriations of money are diverted from purposes of usefulness and beneficence. Life, which a refined Christian civilization daily regards with new reverence, is squandered in bloody death on the field of battle. Many, after sinking under the privations and hardships of the camp, and the pernicious influences of an unaccustomed climate, have laid their uncoffined bones far away from their homes. Families are made desolate. Wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters are now mourning husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers whose faces they shall never again behold, whose dying agonies were relieved by no voice of kindness, no solace of prayer. The spirit of war, so adverse to the interests of republicanism and the spirit of the gospel, now predominates in the councils of our country, summoning all its energies to the contest.

It becomes important, then, to inquire into the nature of the contest and the duties of citizens in regard to it. Is this unseasonable discord — this sacrifice of treasure and life, this laceration of sacred ties, this invocation of the demon of war — necessary and unavoidable? Is it in a just cause? Is it in a cause which can challenge the benediction of good men and patriots, and the countenance and succor of Heaven? If it be

not, how can the mighty evil be redressed, and its continuance and recurrence be prevented?

### ORIGIN AND CAUSE OF THE WAR.

To answer these inquiries, it will be proper, in the first place, to consider the origin and cause of the war. History and official documents have already placed these in a clear light. They are to be found in two important acts of our government, both of which were in flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States. The first is the annexation of the foreign State of Texas, and its incorporation into our Union, by joint resolutions of Congress. This may be called the remote cause. The immediate cause was the order from the President, bearing date January 13, 1846, to General Taylor, to break up his camp at Corpus Christi, the extreme western point of the territory actually possessed by Texas, and march upon the Rio Grande. This, which was in itself an act of war, took place during the session of Congress, but without its knowledge or direction. Let us endeavor to comprehend the character and consequences of these acts.

### THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

The history of the annexation of Texas cannot be fully understood without reverting to the early settlement of that province by citizens of the United States. Mexico, on achieving her independence of the Spanish crown, by a general ordinance, worthy of imitation by all Christian nations, had decreed the abolition of human slavery within her dominions, embracing the Province of Texas. She had declared expressly "that no person thereafter should be born a slave, or introduced as such, into the Mexican States; that all slaves then held should receive stipulated wages, and be subject to no punishment but on trial and judgment by the magistrate." At this period, citizens of the United States had already begun to remove into Texas, hardly separated, as it was, by the River Sabine from the slaveholding State of Louisiana. The idea was early promulgated that this extensive province ought to become a part of the United States. Its annexation was distinctly agitated in the Southern and Western States in 1829; and it was urged on the ground of the strength and extension it would give to

the "Slave Power," and the fresh market it would open for the sale of slaves.

The suggestion of this idea had an important effect. A current of emigration soon followed from the United States. Slaveholders crossed the Sabine, with their slaves, in defiance of the Mexican ordinance of freedom. Restless spirits, discontented at home, or feeling the restraint of the narrow confines of our country, joined them; while their number was swollen by the rude and lawless of all parts of the land, who carried to Texas the love of license which had rendered a region of justice no longer a pleasant home to them. To such spirits, rebellion was natural.

It soon broke forth. At this period the whole population, including women and children, did not amount to twenty thousand; and, among these, most of the older and wealthier inhabitants still favored peace. A Declaration of Independence, a farcical imitation of that of our fathers, was put forth, not by persons acting in a Congress or in a representative character, but by about *ninety individuals*,—all, except two, from the United States,—acting for themselves, and recommending a similar course to their fellow-citizens. In a just cause the spectacle of this handful of adventurers, boldly challenging the power of Mexico, would excite our sympathy, perhaps our admiration. But successful rapacity, which seized broad and fertile lands, while it opened new markets for slaves, excites no sentiment but that of abhorrence.

The work of rebellion sped. Citizens of the United States joined its fortunes, not singly, but in numbers, even in armed squadrons. Our newspapers excited the *taste* of *territorial* robbery in the public mind. Expeditions were openly equipped within our own borders. Advertisements for volunteers summoned the adventurous, as to patriotic labors. Military companies, with officers and standards, directed their steps to the revolted province. During all this period the United States were at peace with Mexico. A proclamation from our government, forbidding these hostile preparations within our borders, is undeniable evidence of their existence, while truth compels us to record its impotence in upholding the sacred duties of neutrality between Mexico and the insurgents. The Texan flag waved over an army of American citizens. Of the six or eight hundred who won the battle of San Jacinto, scattering the Mexican forces and capturing their general, not more than

fifty were citizens of Texas, having grievances of their own to redress on that field.

This victory was followed by the recognition of the independence of Texas by the United States; while the new State took its place among the nations of the earth.\* Its Mexican rulers were succeeded, not by people nurtured on the soil, but by citizens of our country. As, in the story of Baron Munchausen, the bear devoured the horse between the very shafts of the carriage, until he found himself in its place, drawing the vehicle, so did the greedy adventurers from our country, with an unprecedented rapacity, eat themselves into the possession of this rich province of Mexico.

Certainly our sister republic might feel aggrieved by this conduct. It might justly charge our citizens with disgraceful robbery, while, in seeking the extension of slavery, they repudiated the great truths of American freedom. Meanwhile Texas slept on her arms, constantly expecting new efforts from Mexico to regain her former power. The two combatants regarded each other as enemies. Mexico still asserted her right to the territory wrested from her, and refused to acknowledge its independence. Texas turned for favor and succor to England. The government of the United States, fearing it might pass under the influence of this power, made overtures for its annexation to our country. This was finally accomplished by joint resolutions of Congress, in defiance of the Constitution, and in gross insensibility to the sacred obligations of amity with Mexico, imposed alike by treaty and by justice, "both strong against the deed." The Mexican minister regarded it as an act offensive to his country, and, demanding his passport, returned home.

#### OBJECTS OF ANNEXATION.

To appreciate fully the character of this act, it will be proper to consider briefly the objects contemplated by it, or, in other words, the reasons which induced it. These are placed beyond question by authentic public documents, and by the confessions of a leading statesman in open debate. It is not to be disguised that there were some considerations of less importance, which operated on certain minds; but the grand impelling motive was the desire to extend the institution of slavery,

\*"Nothing is more true or more extensively known," said Mr. Van Buren, in 1844, "than that Texas *was wrested from Mexico*, and her independence established, through the instrumentality of citizens of the United States."

and to strengthen the political combination and power which are founded upon it. At the time it took place, England was supposed to be exerting her influence to induce Texas to abolish slavery. This excited the alarm of the government of the United States. Mr. Secretary Upshur, by a letter dated August 8, 1843, addressed to Mr. Murphy, our chargé at Texas, says, "The establishment, in the very midst of our *slaveholding States*, of an independent government, forbidding the existence of slavery, and by a people born, for the most part, among us, reared up in our habits and speaking our language, cannot fail to produce the most unhappy effects upon both parties."—"Few calamities could befall this country more to be deplored than the establishment of a predominant British influence, and the abolition of domestic slavery, in Texas." By his letter to Mr. Murphy, dated January 16, 1844, he says: "If Texas should refuse to come into our Union, measures will instantly be taken to fill her territory with emigrants from Europe. . . . The first measure of the new emigrants, as soon as they shall have sufficient strength, will be to *destroy that grand domestic institution* upon which so much of the prosperity of our frontier country depends. I will add that, *if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she cannot maintain that institution ten years, and probably not half that time.*"

Similar views were expressed, with his accustomed frankness, by Mr. Calhoun, when Secretary of State. Without quoting these at length, as they appear in his different communications to Mr. Green and Mr. Pakenham, it will be sufficient to present the following passage from his letter to the latter, bearing date April 27, 1844: "The treaty of annexation was made necessary, *in order to preserve domestic institutions*, placed under the guaranty of their respective constitutions, and deemed essential to their safety and prosperity." And recently, on the floor of the Senate at Washington, he has avowed the same motive, adding that he thought there was danger that the institution of slavery might be abolished in Texas, and that he had seized the golden moment for the purpose of giving it perpetuity.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF ANNEXATION.

Such was the character of this act, and the object proposed by it. A republic, whose animating principle is freedom, here

appears as the pander of slavery. But the act of annexation did not pass in silence. It was earnestly and eloquently opposed, in its different stages, on the express ground that it would extend slavery, and entail upon the country a war with Mexico. And these direful consequences are now upon us. The flag of the American Union waves over a new State, whose unfortunate slaves look to it in vain for the protection which is implied in the Declaration of Independence. And war now rages between the United States and Mexico. One of the senators of Texas, Mr. Houston, who owes his seat in the national councils to this *unconstitutional* act, now declares that "the present war with Mexico is but a continuation of the Texan war, and that, when we took Texas, we took the war as by inheritance." Such have been the consequences of that act.

#### THE WESTERN BOUNDARY OF TEXAS.

Texas was annexed; and the question arises, What was the territory which had thus been torn from Mexico and incorporated into our republic? What were its metes and bounds? Look first at the resolutions of annexation. By these, it is provided as follows: "First, Congress doth consent that the territory *properly* included within, and *rightfully* belonging to, the republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State, to be called the State of Texas, with a republican form of government." And again, "The said State to be formed *subject to the adjustment by the government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments.*" These terms were acceded to by Texas. The introduction to her constitution, which has been approved by our Congress, expressly declares, that it is formed "in accordance with the joint resolutions annexing Texas to the United States." The constitution sets forth no boundary, while it follows the resolutions of annexation in excluding all territory not *properly* included within, and *rightfully* belonging to, the republic of Texas.

The absence of any express designation of the territory, by metes and bounds, as occurs in the treaty of 1783, acknowledging the independence of the United States, is a sufficient proof that they were still undetermined, while the language of the resolutions recognizes "questions of boundary," which notoriously related to the western frontier, or the line between Texas and Mexico.



The question recurs, What territory was properly included within, and rightfully belonging to, Texas? There are some persons who, adverting to the early history of this territory, assert that it was once a part of Louisiana, and that, as such, its western boundary was the Rio Grande. This position has, however, been assailed by an overwhelming array of authorities and illustrations, which leave it little more than a hollow assertion.\* But, whatever may be the conclusions with regard to it, it will not be questioned that Texas, first as a Spanish province, and afterwards as one of the States of the Mexican confederacy, was bounded by the River Nueces (Walnut River). This is an important geographical and historical fact, in itself almost conclusive upon the question, in the absence of countervailing proofs.

Prominent leaders of the now dominant party of our country have solemnly declared that the boundary was not further west than the great desert between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. Mr. Benton, a senator of the United States, in his speech of May 16, 1844, denounced the attempt to claim the Rio Grande, sometimes called the Rio del Norte and the Rio Bravo, as the boundary, which is one hundred and fifty miles farther west. He embodied his opinions in the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That the incorporation of the left bank of the Rio del Norte into the American Union, by virtue of a treaty with Texas, comprehending, as the said incorporation would do, a part of the Mexican departments of New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, *would be an act of direct aggression on Mexico*, for all the consequences of which the United States would stand responsible."

In the House of Representatives the chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs (Mr. C. J. Ingersoll), on the 3d of February, 1845, made his remarkable declaration to the same effect. He said:—

"The stupendous deserts between the Nueces and the Bravo Rivers are the natural boundaries between the Anglo-Saxon and the Mauritanian races. *There ends the valley of the west. There Mexico begins.* Thence, beyond the Bravo, begin the Moorish people, and their Indian associates, to whom Mexico properly belongs; who should not cross that vast desert if they

\* See the able and learned speech of Mr. Severance, of Maine, which contains an elaborate examination of the question of boundary.

could, as we, on our side, too, ought to stop there, because interminable conflicts must ensue our going south, or their coming north, of that gigantic boundary. *While peace is cherished, that boundary will be sacred. Not till the spirit of CONQUEST rages* will the people on either side molest or mix with each other; and, whenever they do, one or the other race must be conquered, if not extinguished."

These authorities would seem to be conclusive. But other considerations add weight to them. Texas was a child of revolution. Her title to territory cannot depend upon formal designation of boundaries in maps or books, although these are against her present claim, but upon the sword. Her *right* was coextensive with her *might*. Just so far as she had been able to hold possession, and no further, would her title reach. This conclusion flows from admitted principles of public law. It was recognized by Mr. Donaldson, our chargé there, who, by his letter to Mr. Buchanan, of July 11, 1845, after stating the claim of Texas to the Rio Grande as "an open question," says that "we should regard only as *within the limits of our protection* that portion of territory *actually* possessed by Texas, and which she did not consider *subject to negotiation*."

It is clear, from the correspondence laid before Congress by the President, that Texas had never acquired possession to the Rio Grande, nor, with the exception of a few small posts, beyond the Nueces. The inhabitants west of the valley of the Nueces spoke the language of Mexico; they obeyed her laws, and were governed by her officers and magistrates. Our traders and merchants there paid duties at Mexican custom-houses. Everywhere were the signs of Mexican sovereignty; nowhere, of the sovereignty of Texas. Mr. Donaldson, by a letter of June 28, 1845, to General Taylor, says: "Corpus Christi is said to be as healthy as Pensacola; a convenient place for supplies, *and the most western point now occupied by Texas*."

Whatever, then, may have been the *claim* of Texas, she had never practically extended her power beyond the valley of the Nueces. The vast territory, embracing a large part of the Mexican provinces of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and New Mexico, and comprehended between the Nueces and the long north-western sweep of the Rio Grande, was not in the possession of Texas or of the United States. And the very resolutions of annexation, and other official documents, recognized the

western boundary as an open question, which was to be determined by future negotiation.

## PEACE STILL CONTINUES BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

The act of annexation, pregnant with war, did not at once bring forth its hateful offspring. Mexico was inactive. Peace still hovered over the borders of the two countries, not yet driven away by the rude appeal of arms.

Mr. Peña y Peña, the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, wrote to Mr. Black, our consul, on the 31st of October, 1845, thus: "The government of Mexico has given its orders for the purpose of *suspending for the present any act of hostility against the United States, and limits itself to the defensive*, awaiting the issue of the negotiation *proposed* by the government of the United States, through the consul," etc. This is an authentic expression of the *intentions* of Mexico. But we have other evidence. Mr. Marks, formerly United States consul at Matamoras, in a letter to General Taylor, dated at China, in Mexico, September 23, 1845, and enclosed to the Secretary of State on the 28th October following, says: "I have the honor to inform you that I have had several conferences at Monterey with General Mariano Arista, commander-in-chief of the Mexican forces on the frontier of the Rio Grande, in relation to the differences at present existing between the United States and Mexico, and am pleased to state to you that, from the opinion and views he made known to me, the cabinet of Mexico is disposed to enter into an amicable arrangement with the United States in relation to the boundary, and all other momentous questions. . . .

"General Arista pledged his honor to me that no large body of Mexican troops should cross the left bank of the Rio Grande; that only small parties, not to exceed two hundred men, should be permitted to go as far as the Arroyo Colorado, (twenty leagues from the Rio Grande), and that they would be strictly ordered only to prevent Indian depredations and illicit trade." . . .

The conduct of Mexico, it will appear, continued to be in harmony with these declarations.

General Taylor was stationed, with the American army, at Corpus Christi, three miles beyond the River Nueces. By a

letter to the war department, dated September 6, 1845, he says: "I have the honor to report that a confidential agent despatched to Matamoras, has returned, and reports that no extraordinary preparations are going forward there; that the garrison does not seem to have been increased, and that our consul is of opinion *there will be no war.*" By another letter, dated October 11, he writes: "Recent arrivals from the Rio Grande bring no news of a different aspect from what I repeated in my last. The views expressed in previous communications, *relative to the pacific disposition of the border people on both sides of the river, are continually confirmed.*" January 7, he writes: "A recent scout of volunteers from San Antonio struck the river near Presidio, Rio Grande; and the *commander reports everything quiet in that quarter.*"

#### MOVEMENT OF GENERAL TAYLOR FROM CORPUS CHRISTI TO THE RIO GRANDE.

This was the state of things when, by an order bearing date 13th January, 1846, during the session of Congress, and without any consultation with that body, General Taylor was directed, by the President of the United States, to occupy the east bank of the Rio Grande, being the extreme western part of the territory claimed by Texas, the boundary of which had been designated as an "open question," to be determined by "negotiation." General Taylor broke up his quarters at Corpus Christi on the 11th March, and, proceeding across this *disputed territory*, established his post, and erected a battery, directly opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, and, under his directions, the mouth of the Rio Grande was blockaded, so as to cut off supplies from the Mexican army at Matamoras.

#### WAR ENSUES.

These were acts of war, accomplished without bloodshed; but they were nevertheless acts of unquestioned hostility 'gainst Mexico. Blockade! and military occupation of a disputed territory! These were the arbiters of the "open question" of boundary. These were the substitutes for "negotiation." It is not to be supposed that the Mexican army should quietly endure these aggressive measures, and regard with indifference cannon pointed at their position. Recent confes-

sions in the Senate show that the fatal order of January 13th was known at the time to certain senators, who saw its hostile character, but felt unable to interfere to arrest it. They prognosticated war. On the 26th of April a small body of American troops, under the command of Captain Thornton, encountered Mexican troops at a place twenty miles north of General Taylor's camp. *Here was the first collision of arms.* The report of this was hurried to Washington. Rumor, with hundred tongues, exaggerated the danger of the American army under General Taylor, and produced an insensibility to the aggressive character of his movement. All concurred in a desire to rescue him from the perilous position which, with the unquestioning obedience of a soldier, he had fearlessly occupied. It was under the influence of this feeling that the untoward act of May 13th was pressed through Congress, by which it was declared that "war exists by the act of Mexico"; and an appropriation of ten million dollars was made, and authority given to the President to employ the military and naval forces of the United States, and to receive the services of 50,000 volunteers, in order to prosecute it to a successful conclusion. The passage of this act placed the whole country in hostile array against Mexico, and impressed upon every citizen of the United States the relation of enemy of every citizen of Mexico. This disastrous condition still continues. War is still waged; and our armies, after repeated victories achieved on Mexican soil, are still pursuing the path of conquest.

#### APOLOGIES FOR THE WAR.

The review which has now been attempted, and which is fully sustained by unquestioned authorities, conducts us to the important question as to the character of the war in which the country is now engaged. It has found partisans, who have adduced various reasons and apologies for it. These all assume acts of wrong on the part of Mexico, justifying the appeal to arms. They may be resolved into three different heads:—

#### ALLEGED INVASION OF THE UNITED STATES BY MEXICO.

The *first* alleges that Mexico passed the boundary of the United States, invaded our territory, and shed American blood

upon American soil. This is completely refuted by the facts already adduced, showing that the collision took place upon territory in dispute between the two governments, *and in the actual possession of Mexico*. It was the army of the United States that played the part of invaders.

### DEBTS OF MEXICO.

The *second* apology pleads the failure of Mexico to pay certain claims of our citizens, founded on alleged outrages during a long succession of years. But these claims, many of which were of a most equivocal character, were liquidated by treaty in 1839, by which Mexico undertook to satisfy them, when allowed by commissioners appointed by the two governments. The commissioners, after a protracted inquiry, allowed claims amounting to the sum of \$2,026,139.68. This amount became a debt from Mexico to the United States. The early outrages which have been adduced were all absorbed and satisfied in this sum total. A debtor and creditor account took their place. It was the unquestioned duty of Mexico to pay this sum; and it is much to her credit that, though vexed by civil war, disordered finances, and the aggressive conduct of our country, she has never followed the example set by some of our own States, in repudiating it. Nor did our own government regard her failure to pay as a ground of war, until after the collision on the Rio Grande. It is evident that this apology is an afterthought, which is abhorrent to the spirit of modern civilization. It is not in any degree calculated to relieve this war of the odium with which it is justly regarded.

### REFUSAL TO RECEIVE MR. SLIDELL.

The *third* and only remaining apology is found in the refusal to receive Mr. Slidell. We may well shrink from any detailed inquiry into the circumstances of this act. Is it not unworthy a magnanimous and Christian republic to plead a *failure in a matter of international etiquette* as an excuse for an extensive and bloody war? Such an apology might, in former ages, have found favor with an irritable prince, in whom the punctilio of honor was the substitute for Christian duty; but it should be disowned by a people who profess to regard *substance* rather than *form*, and who recognize the golden rule of doing

unto others as they would be done unto. But the facts show that, while Mexico refused to receive Mr. Slidell, who was sent as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary," she expressed a willingness to receive a commissioner specially appointed to treat of the matters which had interrupted the diplomatic relations of the two countries, particularly of the "open question" of boundary. It seems that on the 16th of December, 1845, Mr. Peña y Peña, the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, answered Mr. Slidell's note, declaring that the delay in his reception had arisen from difficulties occasioned by the nature of his credentials, as compared with the proposition made by the United States, to treat peacefully upon the affairs of Texas. On the 20th December, 1845, Mr. Slidell's mission was annulled by an official note from Mr. Peña y Peña, requiring the production of special powers *AD HOC*, *for the settlement of the Texas question expressly and exclusively, before he could be recognized as minister plenipotentiary*, as otherwise the honor, dignity, and interests of the Mexican republic would be put in jeopardy. It is doubtful if Mexico, in pursuing this course, departed from the usages of nations. Great Britain once sent to the United States a minister specially authorized to treat of the affair of the Chesapeake. It did not, however, suit the policy of our government to enter into any negotiation with him, unless his instructions extended to other matters. The minister then declared his mission terminated; but no offence was taken on either side, nor, when at a later day war ensued between Great Britain and the United States, was this question of etiquette thrown by either party into the bloody scales.

#### REAL OBJECTS OF THE WAR.

The origin and cause of the war have been set forth; and the apologies for it have been shown to be futile. Why, then, is it waged? This leads to the consideration of the real objects of the war. Whatever may have been the question on this head in the early stages of the contest, they are now established beyond reasonable doubt, if not beyond controversy, by the express declarations of prominent advocates of the war, and by important votes of both houses of Congress.

## IT IS A WAR OF CONQUEST.

It can no longer be doubted that this is a war of conquest. The first confession of this fact which startled the public mind appeared in the letter of the Secretary of War to Colonel Stevenson, dated June 26, 1846, with reference to a regiment of volunteers to be raised in New York. The Secretary says:—

“The President expects, and indeed requires, that great care should be taken to have it composed of suitable persons; I mean, of good habits; as far as practicable, of various pursuits, *and such as would be likely to remain, at the end of the war, either in Oregon, or in any other territory in that region of the globe which may then be a part of the United States.* The act of the 13th of May last authorizes the acceptance of volunteers for twelve months, or during the war with Mexico. The condition of the acceptance in this case must be a tender of service during the war, and it must be explicitly understood that they may be discharged, *without a claim for returning home, wherever they may be serving at the termination of the war, provided it is in the THEN territory of the United States,* or may be taken to the nearest or most convenient territory belonging to the United States, and there discharged.”

In a letter to Commodore Sloat, dated June 8, the Secretary says, “You will take such measures as will render that vast region [California] *a desirable place of residence for emigrants from our soil.*” In a letter to Colonel Kearny, dated June 3, the conquest of New Mexico is also foreshadowed. He says: “Should you *conquer and take possession of New Mexico and Upper California,* you will establish civil governments therein. You may assure the people of these provinces that it is the wish and *design* of the United States to *provide for them* a free government with the least possible delay, *similar to that which exists in our territories.*” Other passages from the official correspondence might be adduced to the same point.

Prominent supporters of the war, in Congress, have not hesitated to avow conquest as their object. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate (Mr. Sevier) has said that “no one thought of getting less than New Mexico and California”; and the chairman of the same committee in the House (Mr. C. J. Ingersoll), after having once defended the war, “not as the means of ambition, or for the sake of conquest,” has more recently declared that “everybody knew—



yes, everybody knew — that this was to be a war of invasion, *a war of territorial conquest*, although it was now spoken of in terms of condemnation in that respect. But it cannot be otherwise than a war of conquest. That was the only use that could be made of all the power granted by Congress, and by Congress commanded to be employed.”

In disagreeable harmony with these declarations have been the recent votes in the Senate and House of Representatives, by which they have expressly refused to sanction resolutions against the acquisition of foreign territory and the dismemberment of the Mexican republic.

### IT IS A WAR FOR THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

A war of conquest is bad; but the present war has darker shadows. It is a war for the extension of slavery over a territory which has already been purged, by Mexican authority, from this stain and curse. Fresh markets of human beings are to be established; further opportunities for this hateful traffic are to be opened; the lash of the overseer is to be quickened in new regions; and the wretched slave is to be hurried to unaccustomed fields of toil. It can hardly be believed that now, more than eighteen hundred years since the dawn of the Christian era, a government, professing the law of charity and justice, should be employed in war to extend an institution which exists in defiance of these sacred principles.

It has already been shown that the annexation of Texas was consummated for this purpose. The Mexican war is a continuance, a prolongation, of the same efforts; and the success which crowned the first emboldens the partisans of the latter, who now, as before, profess to extend the area of freedom, while they are establishing a new sphere for slavery.

The authorities already adduced in regard to the objects of annexation illustrate the real objects of the Mexican war. Declarations have also been made, upon the floor of Congress, which throw light upon it. Mr. Sims, of South Carolina, has said that “he had no doubt that every foot of territory we shall permanently occupy, south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, will be slave territory”; and, in reply to his colleague, Mr. Burt, who inquired whether this opinion was “in consequence of the known determination of the Southern people that their institutions shall be carried into that country, if ac-

quired," said, in words that furnish a key to the whole project, "*It is founded on the known determination of the Southern people that their institutions shall be carried there; it is founded in the laws of God, written on the climate and soil of the country: nothing but slave labor can cultivate, profitably, that region of country.*"

The recent rejection, in both houses at Washington, of the Wilmot proviso, by which slavery was to be excluded from all new territorial acquisitions, reveals to the world the fixed determination of a majority of Congress to make the war an instrument for the extension of slavery, and the establishment in new regions of what Mr. Upshur called "the grand domestic institution."

### IT IS A WAR TO STRENGTHEN THE "SLAVE POWER."

But it is not merely proposed to open new markets for slavery: it is also designed to confirm and fortify the "Slave Power." Here is a distinction which should not fail to be borne in mind. Slavery is odious as an institution, if viewed in the light of morals and Christianity. On this account alone we should refrain from rendering it any voluntary support. But it has been made the basis of a political combination, to which has not inaptly been applied the designation of the "Slave Power." The slaveholders of the country—who are not supposed to exceed 200,000 or at most 300,000 in numbers—by the spirit of union which animates them, by the strong sense of a common interest, and by the audacity of their leaders, have erected themselves into a new "estate," as it were, under the Constitution. Disregarding the sentiments of many of the great framers of that instrument, who notoriously considered slavery as *temporary*, they proclaim it a *permanent* institution; and, with a strange inconsistency, at once press its title to a paramount influence in the general government, while they deny the right of that government to interfere, in any way, with its existence. According to them, it may never be restrained or abolished by the general government, though it may be indefinitely extended. And it is urged that, as new free States are admitted into the Union, other slave States should be admitted, in order to preserve, in the Senate, what is called the "balance of power"; in other words, the equipoise between slavery and freedom, though it might, with more propriety, be termed the preponderance of slavery. The

bare enunciation of this claim discloses its absurdity. Is it not a mockery of the principles of freedom, which moved the hearts and strengthened the hands of our fathers, to suppose that they contemplated any such perverse arrangement of political power?

It cannot be doubted that His Excellency is entirely right when he says, in his message, that "at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States the final extinction of the institution of slavery was looked for at no very distant day," and that "so carefully was the Constitution formed that, when the event took place, not one word or phrase of it would require to be altered, and no expression in it would give notice to posterity that such an institution ever existed"; and, further, that "the Constitution leaves slavery where it found it, a State institution; and though, as a compromise, it did confer political power upon States which had slaves, by reason of their slaves, *it was not intended* that that power should be extended *beyond the States who were parties to the compromise.*"

But the slave power has triumphed over the evident intentions of the framers of the Constitution. It appears that only one new free State has been formed out of territory acquired by treaty, while four new slave States have been established, and the foreign slave State of Texas has been incorporated into the Union by joint resolutions of Congress.

The object of the bold measure of annexation was not only to extend slavery, but to strengthen the "Slave Power." The same object is now proposed by the Mexican war. This is another link in the gigantic chain by which our country and the Constitution are to be bound to the "Slave Power." This has been proclaimed in public journals. The following passage from the *Charleston (S.C.) Courier* avows it: "Every battle fought in Mexico, and every dollar spent there, but insures the acquisition of territory which must widen the field of *Southern enterprise and power in future.* And the final result will be to readjust the balance of power in the confederacy, *so as to give us control over the operations of government in all time to come.*"

#### IT IS A WAR AGAINST THE FREE STATES.

Regarding it as a war to strengthen the "Slave Power," we are conducted to a natural conclusion, that it is virtually, and in its consequences, a war against the free States of the Union.

Conquest and robbery are attempted in order to obtain a political control at home; and distant battles are fought, less with a special view of subjugating Mexico than with the design of overcoming the power of the free States, under the Constitution. The lives of Mexicans are sacrificed in this cause; and a domestic question, which should be reserved for bloodless debate in our own country, is transferred to fields of battle in a foreign land.

### HORRORS OF THE WAR.

Such is the origin of this war, and such are its objects. But there are other points of view in which it has not yet been regarded. In estimating its character, we cannot be blind to the sufferings which it has caused, not only in Mexico, but in our own country. No hostile footstep has pressed any portion of our soil; no smoke of our enemy's camp has been seen within our borders. But sorrow unspeakable has visited many homes. Brave officers have been cut down in the flower of life; the wounded and the dead have been left together on the battlefield. But climate has been more fatal even than the bullet and the sword. Many who left their homes in all the pride of hope and health now sleep the last sleep, in the foreign soil which they had invaded, without having met a foe. Many, also, have shrunk from the service. It appears, from a communication of the adjutant-general of the army of the United States, that, of the 703 officers, and 15,995 non-commissioned officers and privates, making an aggregate of volunteer forces under General Taylor of 16,698 men, there had been discharged, up to the 7th of December, 5,079.

It is sad to know that demoralization of all kinds has crept into the camp; though it could not be expected that such considerable bodies of men, away from the restraints of civil society and stimulated by vicious companionship, could escape this condition. Murder, assassination, and rapine have occurred among our own soldiers, who, like the armed men that sprang from the dragon's teeth, in the classical fable, have more than once striven in deadly quarrel with each other.

The warring elements have also mingled with the bad passions of men, and shipwreck has added to the losses and sufferings of our people.—relieved, however, by the precious sympathies which, in this time of peril, were extended by strangers.

But who can measure the trials of the unfortunate Mexicans?

Battle has raged in their corn-fields, on the banks of their rivers, and in their streets. Not soldiers only,—steeled to the hardships of war,—but women and children, have felt its aggravated horrors. Houses, in whose shelter should live only the domestic virtues, have been converted into castles, and attacked and defended with fatal ferocity. American cannon have been pointed at a bishop's palace; shells filled with death have been sprinkled among the innocent inhabitants of more than one Mexican city; while the brutal lusts and unrestrained lawlessness of soldiers have added to the miseries of battle and siege.

#### COST OF THE WAR.

Nor should we be indifferent to the enormous expenditures which have already been lavished upon the war, and the accumulating debt which will hold in mortgage the future resources of the country. It is impossible to estimate the exact amount of these. At this moment the cost of the war cannot be less than seventy millions. It may be a hundred millions.

This sum is so vast as to be beyond easy comprehension. It may be estimated, partly, by reference to the cost of other objects of interest. It is far more than all the funds for common schools throughout the United States. It is ample for the endowment of three or more institutions like Harvard College in every State. It would plant churches in all the neglected valleys of the land. It would bind and interlace every part of the country by new railroads. It would make our broad and rude soil blossom like a garden. And if, in an auspicious moment, it were diverted from the work of destruction in Mexico to the noble charity of succoring distressed Ireland, it would carry certain comfort to a whole people, now in the pangs of famine.

#### UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE WAR.

The war should not fail, also, to be regarded in the light of the Constitution. And here we must be brief. The stages by which the country has reached it have been as unconstitutional as its objects. *First*, Texas was annexed, by joint resolutions of Congress, in violation of the Constitution. *Second*, the President, in undertaking to order General Taylor, without the consent of Congress, to march upon territory in

possession of Mexico, assumed a power which belongs to Congress alone. To Congress has been committed the dread thunderbolt of war. "Congress shall have power to declare war," are the words of the Constitution. But the President has usurped its most terrible authority. His order to General Taylor was an unauthorized act of war. *Third*, as a war of conquest, and for the extension of slavery, it is contrary to the principles of our Constitution, which, according to the words of the preamble, was formed "to provide for the *common defence*, promote the general welfare, and secure *the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity*." Such a war as that in which we are now engaged can find no sanction in these words: it is *not* for the *common defence*, nor to *secure the blessings of liberty*. *Fourth*, as a war to strengthen the "Slave Power," it is also unconstitutional. Thus it may be branded as a fourfold infraction of the fundamental law of the land.

#### CRIMINALITY OF THE WAR.

And it is also a violation of the fundamental law of Heaven, of that great law of Right which is written by God's own finger on the heart of man. His Excellency said nothing beyond the truth when, in his message, he declared that "an offensive and unnecessary war was the highest crime which man can commit against society." It is so; for all the demons of Hate are then let loose in mad and causeless career. Misrule usurps the place of order, and outrage of all kinds stalks "unwhipt of justice." An unjust and unnecessary war is the dismal offspring of *national insensibility*, steeping the conscience in forgetfulness, and unkennelling the foul brood of murder, rapine, and rape. How, then, must we regard the acts in the present war? Have they any extenuation beyond the sanction of mortals, like ourselves, who have rashly undertaken to direct them? The war is a crime, and all who have partaken in the blood of its well-fought fields have aided in its perpetration. It is a principle of military law that the soldier shall not question the orders of his superior. If this shall exonerate the army from blame, it will be only to press with accumulated weight upon the government, which has set in motion this terrible and irresponsible machine.

## THE TRUE HONOR OF THE COUNTRY.

It is certainly more than doubtful whether any true honor can be achieved, even in the successful prosecution of such a war. The victories of injustice can never be sources of gratulation or pride. The sympathies of good men cannot be surrendered to acts of wrong. The hearts of all Americans beat responsive to the brave but vain efforts of the Poles to save their unhappy country from dismemberment; nor can we dwell with satisfaction upon Russian valor triumphant in a war of spoliation. Perhaps the partialities of patriotism may prevent us from applying to our own conduct the stern judgment which we award to foreign aggression; but we cannot hesitate in recognizing *justice*, whether in individuals or nations, as an essential element in every act worthy of true honor. Nor can perseverance in wrong be a duty, under any circumstances, either with individuals or nations. Its abandonment may sometimes cost a struggle of worldly pride, but it is required by considerations alike of justice and magnanimity. In retreating from positions of error, true honor is to be earned, greater far than any by success in unjust war.

## DUTY TO ARREST THE WAR.

Such an opportunity of honor is now open to the country by earnest efforts to arrest the present war. It is unbecoming a Christian people to plunge farther in crime; nor can any just sentiment of patriotism sanction what Christianity disowns. We have been told "to seek an honorable peace by the sword." Our true course should be to stay the havoc of the sword, and to strive not to conquer a foreign people, but the dangerous spirit of conquest which rages in the bosoms of our own citizens. We are the aggressors from the beginning. We have invaded Mexico as much as Great Britain invaded our own country in the war of the Revolution. "I say again," said Lord Chatham, in bringing forward a motion, in 1776, to put a stop to American hostilities, "this country has been the aggressor. You have made descents upon their coasts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons. I do therefore affirm that,

instead of exacting unconditional submission from the colonies, we should grant them unconditional redress."

#### WITHDRAWAL OF THE FORCES.

We should not fail to insist upon the withdrawal of our forces from Mexico, within the acknowledged limits of the United States, so soon as the same can be done, with due regard to the well-being of the troops. Let them return home, nor longer continue as the agents of injustice. Such a retreat will be an act of truer lustre than any victory in such a war.

#### DUTY TO STOP THE SUPPLIES.

Another duty, of great practical importance, is to withhold all supplies, or voluntary contribution, to the further prosecution of the war. This is particularly incumbent upon Congress, in whom is vested by the Constitution the power to declare war. Every new vote of supplies is a fresh sanction of the war; it is another "declaration." The propriety of withholding supplies has been sometimes questioned under our Constitution. It has been said that, when the country finds itself in war, no matter how, it is the province of Congress to furnish the means for carrying it on. But this assertion confounds the opposite duties in wars of *offence*, and of *defence*. In the latter alternative, Congress would be heartily sustained by the people in any appropriations; but it cannot be just or proper to supply the means of *offence* against a neighbor. The objection also assumes, for the President, powers beyond any ordinary control. If Congress must blindly vote supplies, without judging of the justice or necessity of the war in which they are to be employed, then may the President, when the war-power has once been put in motion, push his aggressions without hindrance. Who can stop his march of conquest, if the bare existence of war be a sufficient excuse for an unquestioning vote of means for its maintenance or its vigorous prosecution?

It is sometimes said that Congress must vote the supplies, and then hold him responsible! Where is the gauge and measure of responsibility for an unjust war? Who can estimate the responsibility for all the accumulated deaths and sorrows of the present contest? Where is the scale by which it can be determined? Hold him responsible! Thus may the dogs



of war be let loose, provided only that their keeper is held to strict account for all their havoc! But the life of the humblest soldier in the camp is precious beyond any human accountability!

The Constitution of our country is not obnoxious to any interpretation so inconsistent with liberty and humanity. Its framers were familiar with the conduct of those stanch Whigs of the British Parliament who refused to sanction the unjust war against the colonies, and sought to withhold supplies for its prosecution. "I would," said Lord Chatham, "sell my shirt off my back to assist in proper measures, properly and wisely conducted; *but I would not part with a single shilling to the present ministers.* Their plans are founded in destruction and disgrace. It is, my lords, a ruinous and destructive war; it is full of danger; it teems with disgrace, and must end in ruin." In these bold words are indicated the true course of parliamentary opposition to an outrageous policy. Mr. Burke declared that he "would be ever ready to support a just war, whether against subjects or alien enemies; *but where justice, or a color of justice, was wanting, he should ever be the first to oppose it.*" And Mr. Fox said "he could not conscientiously agree to grant any money for so destructive, so ignoble a purpose as the carrying on a war commenced unjustly and supported with no other view than to the extirpation of freedom and the violation of every social comfort. *This he conceived to be the strict line of conduct to be observed by a member of Parliament.*" These expressions apply with singular force to the present war and to the duties of Congress.

The record of the debates at the formation of our own national Constitution show that these high examples of constitutional opposition to an unjust war had not been forgotten. While the convention were considering the provision which authorizes the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, "Mr. Madison moved to authorize two-thirds of the Senate to make treaties of *peace, without* the concurrence of the President." "The President," he said, "would necessarily derive so much power and importance from a state of war that he might be tempted, if authorized, to impede a treaty of peace." "Mr. Gorham thought the security unnecessary, *as the MEANS of carrying on the war would NOT BE in the hands of the EXECUTIVE, but of the LEGISLATURE.*" (See Elliott's Debates, vol. v. p. 524.) Here is a distinct recognition

by Mr. Gorham, who was a delegate from Massachusetts, of the principle that Congress would have the power to refuse supplies, and thus control the Executive in time of war; and this opinion is supposed to have influenced the convention in rejecting Mr. Madison's amendment as unnecessary.

The propriety of withholding supplies is sanctioned, then, not only by its intrinsic reasonableness as a mode of restraint, but by opinions expressed in the British Parliament, and in the very convention which framed our Constitution.

Congress having the power, the present occasion eminently requires its exercise. At the same time, it cannot be expected that they should refuse to the soldiers, who have already been called into this unwelcome service, the reasonable support which their comfort requires. No new sanction should be given to the war, and no supplies should be afforded for its further prosecution. It were better to construct a bridge of gold for the retreat of our army than to vote a man, or a dollar, for further conquest. A war, which has been denounced as the President's, and which was made in defiance of the Constitution, and for unjust purposes, should be left to him, and to the minions of his will. The true lovers of their country, and defenders of the Constitution, will leave no measure unattempted by which he may be restrained. As, in ancient Rome, under the decree of banishment, the criminal was denied "fire and water," thus cutting him off absolutely from all sources of support, so, according to the genius of our Constitution, should a President, waging an unrighteous contest, be deprived of all means of its prosecution. His murderous plans should be starved. His dishonorable and unchristian war should be left without fuel for its flames.

#### FURTHER DUTY OF THE FREE STATES.

Such is a concise review of the origin, objects, and character of the present war, and of the duties which are now imposed upon the country. In developing these, we have already been led to consider the influence of slavery and the "Slave Power." We have seen their agency, first in the act of annexing Texas, and now in the war with Mexico, both of which have been conducted with the view of restraining the power of the Free States under the Constitution. This circumstance, no less than the express reference to this committee of so much of His

Excellency's message as relates to slavery, renders it proper to consider, further, what can be done to check and overthrow the evil influences by which the country has been brought into its present condition. It will not be sufficient merely to stay the war with Mexico. That will be only a partial triumph of right. The disturbing cause must be removed. The original evil, so far as possible, must be eradicated.

The House, by their reference of the subjects of slavery and the Mexican war to the same committee, have shown their sense of the connection between the two. They are closely united, as cause and effect. The great crime of the war is to be traced directly to slavery; nor can any view of the former be presented, which can claim credit for ordinary candor without a distinct development of this connection. The war, indeed, derives some of its darkest colors from this motive to its prosecution, which is also visible in the annexation of Texas. Our earnest attention is thus directed to an influence so alien to humanity and freedom, so destructive of the true principles of our Constitution, and so hostile to the interests of the Free States.

And here, again, we notice the distinction between slavery and the "Slave Power." The former is used to denote the institution, and the latter the political influence or organization which is founded upon it. Opposition to the two will be on different grounds. But it cannot be questioned that it is the duty of the Free States to unite in all constitutional efforts for the abolition of the one and the restraint and overthrow of the other.

### THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

In pressing the duty of abolishing slavery within the limits of the United States, we are met by the difficulty that it is, except in the District of Columbia and in the territories of the United States, a State institution, drawing its vitality from State laws, and not therefore directly within the constitutional legislation of Congress. There are some passages in the writings of Mr. Jefferson leading to the conclusion that, in his opinion, Congress have the power to pass an "act of emancipation to operate within the States."\* But he is supposed to have been carried, by the known ardor of his opinions in this

\* See Jefferson's Writings. Letter to Mr. Sparks in 1824.

behalf, beyond the strict line of constitutional propriety.\* It cannot be doubted, however, that an amendment of the Constitution may be made, according to the manner prescribed therein, which shall confer upon Congress this extraordinary power. Mr. Sears, in his recent proposition for the emancipation of all slaves by act of Congress, seems to have contemplated such an amendment. But, as this must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, there is a great difficulty in its way in the present state of the public mind. The admission of Louisiana and Texas, however, shows that the popular voice is not always careful of forms; and it is not impossible that these precedents may be considered hereafter as a modification of the Constitution in this respect, pointing the way to a triumph of freedom. But the Legislature of Massachusetts has always shown itself steadfast in its adherence to the substance and forms of the Constitution, and, much as it may desire the abolition of slavery within the limits of the United States, it cannot recommend any course inconsistent with these.

But it should not hesitate to recommend all constitutional efforts in this cause. On other occasions the Legislature of Massachusetts has borne its testimony against slavery. It has already assumed the responsibility of proposing an amendment of the Constitution, destroying the representation of slave property in the House of Representatives and the electoral colleges. It has passed resolutions, at different periods, in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, also in the territories, also requesting Congress to exercise their constitutional power in prohibiting the slave trade between the States, and in insisting upon the exclusion of slavery as a condition of the admission of any new State into the Union.

This course has been sustained by the people of the Commonwealth, who have united in large numbers in petitioning Congress in behalf of these several measures. The day has now passed when it will be said that they are not a proper subject for petition or public discussion.

Especially at the present moment, when criminal efforts have been made to extend slavery, it is incumbent upon all good citizens to renew their exertions for its abolition. It is not only a great calamity, destructive of the true interests of labor, and preventing the increase of knowledge, but, viewed in the light

\* See National Intelligencer, October, 1846.

of morals, it is a great wrong. Jefferson called it "an enormity." It is a violation of the law of God and nature, not less than of the Christian rule of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. All the considerations against its extensions require, with equal force, the exertion of all constitutional means for its abolition.

This duty is so paramount that it needs no support from the opinions of another generation. But it cannot but strengthen us in our determination to know that the early fathers of the republic did not consider slavery as permanent,—that they looked upon its existence with regret, and that they welcomed efforts for its abolition. Washington in several of his letters expresses his hostility to it; and to M. Brissot, a French traveller, in 1788, the year of the adoption of the federal Constitution, he said "that he rejoiced at what was doing in other States on the subject [of abolition], and that he sincerely desired the extension of it to his own"; and when M. Brissot, a foreigner, it will be observed, suggested to him the expediency of forming an "Anti-Slavery Society" in Virginia, and said that "it was worthy the saviour of America to put himself at its head, and open the door of liberty to three hundred thousand unhappy beings of his own State," Washington replied that he "*desired the foundation of such a society, and that he would second it.*"\* The sentiments of Franklin did not differ from those of Washington. He likened American slavery to white slavery in Algiers, and was the president of the earliest "Abolition Society" in Pennsylvania, and, only two years after the adoption of the federal Constitution, called upon Congress "to go to the *very verge* of the power vested in them, to discourage every species of traffic in our fellow-men." Jefferson has borne his testimony on a variety of occasions, to some of which allusion has been already made. In one of his letters he foreshadows the approaching contest for the abolition of slavery, calling it "the interesting spectacle of *justice in conflict* with *avarice* and *oppression*; a conflict where the sacred side is daily gaining recruits from the influx into office of young men grown and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question."†

So long as slavery continues in any place, accessible to any constitutional opposition of our citizens which is not made,

\* Brissot's Travels, Letter 22.

† Jefferson's Letters, vol. i, p. 268.

so long as it may be reached by any influence within our Commonwealth which fails to be exerted, just so long are the people of Massachusetts, to a certain extent, responsible for its existence. The wrong is at our own doors. We must do all in our power to remove it. Jefferson has well said that "a great number have not the courage to divest their families of a property *which, however, keeps their consciences unquiet.*" Let not these words, in any sense, be applicable to the people of Massachusetts. The "*conscience*" of the Commonwealth will have good cause to be "unquiet" at the continued recognition of this property in human beings under the national Constitution.

#### RESTRAINT AND OVERTHROW OF THE "SLAVE POWER."

The primary and highest motives for the abolition of slavery are of a moral character. Others, of great importance, are derived from its injurious influences on material prosperity. It remains now to speak of still other reasons of a political nature, which furnish occasion for opposition, not only to slavery, but to that powerful organization which is founded upon it, and which is called the "Slave Power."

A careful examination of the history of our country, exposing the tyranny and usurpation of the "Slave Power," has not yet been attempted. Our object will be to call attention to a few undeniable facts. The "Slave Power" has predominated over the federal government from its first establishment. It has always absorbed to itself a large portion of all offices of honor and profit under the Constitution. It has held the Presidency for fifty-six years, while the free States have held it for twelve years only. It has for several years rejected the petitions of the free States, thus virtually denying the right of petition. It has denied, to free colored citizens of the free States, the privileges secured to them by the Constitution of the United States, by imprisoning them, and sometimes selling them into slavery. It has insulted and exiled, from Charleston and New Orleans, the honored representatives of Massachusetts, who have been sent to those places in order to throw the shield of the Constitution and law over her colored citizens. It first imposed upon the country the policy of protecting domestic manufactures, contrary to the interests of the free States, and now, when those interests have changed, at a later day has defeated the same policy, contrary to the interests of the same States. It

required the action of the national government to endeavor to secure compensation for certain slaves who, in the exercise of the natural rights of men, had asserted and achieved their freedom on the Atlantic Ocean, and sought shelter in Bermuda. It instigated and carried on a most expensive war in Florida, mainly to recover certain fugitive slaves. It wrested from Mexico the province of Texas, and finally secured its annexation to the United States. And now it has involved the whole country in a causeless, cruel, and unjust war with Mexico. All these things have been done by the "Slave Power."

Their bare enumeration, without further argument, furnishes a sufficient reason for calling for the restraint and overthrow of this influence. And here we do not encounter any difficulties arising from constitutional doubts. It is true that slavery is recognized by the Constitution, and a certain political importance is attached to it by the manner in which it is represented in the House of Representatives and the electoral colleges. But the "Slave Power," *as such*, is an element and influence unknown to the original framers of that instrument. It is not to be supposed that they who anxiously looked for the abolition of slavery could ever have regarded it as the legitimate foundation of an association which was to control the counsels and conduct of the country, and dictate its most important measures. There are but two elements in its existence: first, slavery; and, second, combination among all interested in the preservation of slavery.

The principles of opposition to the "Slave Power" are the natural correlative or complement of these. They are, first, freedom; and, second, a combination among all interested in the preservation of freedom. If it be right, under the Constitution, for men to combine for slavery, they may surely combine for freedom. The country has suffered much under the "Slave Power." It remains to be seen if it may not be restored by a combination not yet attempted,—the "Freedom Power."

And here, as in other movements for the good of the country, Massachusetts must take the lead. She must be true to the spirit of her fathers in the colonial struggles. She must be true to the sentiments of her Bill of Rights. She must be true to the resolutions which she has put forth against the outrages of the "Slave Power" in imprisoning her colored citizens, and in annexing Texas. She must be true to the moral and religious sentiments of her citizens. In one word, she must be true to

her "CONSCIENCE," and not allow it to be longer "unquiet" by submission to the "Slave Power."

All of which, with the accompanying Resolutions, is respectfully submitted.

## RESOLVES

Concerning the Mexican War, and the Institution of Slavery.

*Resolved*, That the present war with Mexico has its primary origin in the unconstitutional annexation to the United States of the foreign State of Texas, while the same was still at war with Mexico; that it was unconstitutionally commenced by the order of the President, to General Taylor, to take military possession of territory in dispute between the United States and Mexico, *and in the occupation of Mexico*: and that it is now waged ingloriously,—by a powerful nation against a weak neighbor,—unnecessarily and without just cause, at immense cost of treasure and life, for the dismemberment of Mexico, and for the conquest of a portion of her territory, from which slavery has already been excluded, with the triple object of extending slavery, of strengthening the "Slave Power," and of obtaining the control of the Free States, under the Constitution of the United States.

*Resolved*, That such a war of conquest, so hateful in its objects, so wanton, unjust, and unconstitutional in its origin and character, must be regarded as a war against freedom, against humanity, against justice, against the Union, against the Constitution, and *against the Free States*: and that a regard for the true interests and the highest honor of the country, not less than the impulses of Christian duty, should arouse all good citizens to join in efforts to arrest this gigantic crime, by withholding supplies, or other voluntary contributions, for its further prosecution, by calling for the withdrawal of our army within the established limits of the United States, and in every just way aiding the country to retreat from the disgraceful position of aggression which it now occupies towards a weak, distracted neighbor and sister republic.

*Resolved*, That our attention is directed anew to the wrong and "enormity" of slavery, and to the tyranny and usurpation of the "Slave Power," as displayed in the history of our country, particularly in the annexation of Texas, and the pres-



ent war with Mexico; and that we are impressed with the unalterable conviction that a regard for the fair fame of our country, for the principles of morals, and for that righteousness which exalteth a nation, sanctions and requires all constitutional efforts for the abolition of slavery within the limits of the United States, while loyalty to the Constitution, and a just self-defence, make it specially incumbent on the people of the free States to co-operate in strenuous exertions to restrain and overthrow the "Slave Power."

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In the spring of 1847 Sumner prepared for a legislative committee an elaborate report, his authorship of which does not seem to have been known at the time, on the Mexican war and the duties and responsibilities of citizens as to the institution of slavery. It reviewed the events connected with the annexation of Texas and the war, set forth in vigorous language the pro-slavery purposes of their authors, denounced the war as waged "against freedom, against humanity, against justice, against the Union, against the Constitution, and against the free States," called for the withholding of supplies and the withdrawal of our troops from Mexico, and briefly urged strenuous and combined efforts for the restraint and overthrow of the slave power. The four resolutions which accompanied the report summarized its conclusions. The majority of the committee, of which Hayden, editor of the *Atlas*, was chairman, had been dilatory in taking any action, and finally agreed upon a report which was thought to be wanting in spirit and directness. Edward L. Keyes, of Dedham, from the minority of the committee, submitted the report and resolutions which Sumner had drawn. There was a contest in the House, attended with considerable excitement and lasting for several days. The resolutions reported by Keyes were, on the motion of C. R. Train, substituted for the majority report by a considerable majority, and were then passed by a vote of more than two to one. With a slight amendment, they then passed the Senate with no serious opposition. Sumner's resolutions thus became the declared opinions of the State. The anti-slavery Whigs, after their defeat at the State convention in September, took great satisfaction in this result, which, as they felt, put Massachusetts again right on the record.—*Life of Sumner, by Edward L. Pierce.*

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"My name," wrote Charles Sumner in a certain autobiographical passage, "is connected somewhat with two questions, which may be described succinctly as those of peace and slavery." He began his public life by what he called a "declaration of war against war,"—his great oration in Boston, July 4, 1845, on "The True Grandeur of Nations." In that address there were references to the complications in Texas and Mexico, already serious and threatening, out of which came so soon afterwards the Mexican war. The political

policies and situations preceding and accompanying the Mexican war furnished, therefore, the first distinct battle-ground in his lifelong war with slavery; because it was as a deliberate movement to expand the slavery area and increase the slave power that the anti-slavery men of the North viewed the Mexican war, which they felt to be unprovoked and unnecessary. Sumner's first political speeches and letters were in opposition to the war and its pro-slavery purpose. These will be found in the first volume of his collected works. The report printed in the present leaflet, prepared by Sumner for a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, is not there given, but is here published separately for the first time, copied from the original document. There is no better brief review of the war and its objects from the anti-slavery standpoint. For a complete record of Sumner's course during the Mexican war, see *Pierce's Life of Sumner*, vol. iii.

The speeches of Clay, Giddings, and others, as well as of Sumner, in opposition to the war, should be read; also, opposing it strongly from a quite different standpoint, the speeches of Calhoun (in his *Works*, iv., 303, 306, etc.) The biographies and speeches of Webster and Robert C. Winthrop should be consulted; with Winthrop Sumner had some controversy. See Schurz's *Life of Clay* and Von Holst's *Life of Calhoun*, in the *American Statesmen Series*. Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, vol. iii., contains a very full and searching discussion of the causes and motives of the war, in accord with Sumner's view. Briefer discussions in Schouler's *History of the United States*, iv. and v., and Henry Wilson's *History of the Slave Power*, ii. Perhaps the best statements of the administration position concerning the war are President Polk's own messages to Congress, which were most carefully prepared, and should be carefully read. See also George Ticknor Curtis's *Life of James Buchanan*, i. 579, etc. William Jay's little book on the Mexican War is the eloquent sermon of a pronounced peace man upon what he regarded as one of the wickedest of all wicked wars. Major R. S. Ripley's "*War with Mexico*," in two vols., is a military history. The lives of Generals Taylor and Scott give accounts of the campaigns. See also General Grant's *Memoirs*. Many of the generals of the Civil War had their first military experience in the war with Mexico. The war stirred most of the anti-slavery orators and poets to significant utterances, which form an important part of the literature of the subject. Most important is Lowell's "*Biglow Papers*," the first series of which relates entirely to this period.

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## Seward's Address on Alaska

AT SITKA, AUGUST 12, 1869.



*Chief of Alaska, Federation of the United States*—You have pressed me to meet you in public assembly once before I leave Alaska. It would be sheer affectation to pretend to doubt your sincerity in making this request, and capriciously ungrateful to refuse it, after having received so many and varied hospitalities from all sorts and conditions of men. It is not an easy task, however, to speak in a manner worthy of your consideration, while I am living constantly on shipboard, as you all know, and am occupied intently in searching out whatever is sublime, or beautiful, or peculiar, or useful. On the other hand, it is altogether natural on your part to say, "You have looked upon Alaska: what do you think of it?" Unhappily, I have seen too little of Alaska to answer the question satisfactorily. The entire coast line of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, is 10,000 miles, while the coast line of Alaska alone, including the islands, is 26,000 miles. The portion of the Territory which lies east of the peninsula, including islands, is 120 miles wide. The western portion, including Aleutian Islands expands to a breadth of 2,200 miles. The entire land area, including islands, is 577,390 statute square miles. We should think a foreigner very presumptuous who should presume to give the world an opinion of the whole of the United States of America, after he had merely looked in from his steamer at Plymouth and Boston Harbor, or had run up the Hudson River to the Highlands, or had ascended the Delaware to Trenton, or the James River to Richmond, or the Mississippi no farther than Memphis. My observation thus far has hardly been more comprehensive.

I entered the Territory of Alaska at the Portland canal, made my way through the narrow passages of the Prince of Wales Archipelago, thence through Peril and Chatham Straits and Lynn Channel, and up the Chilcat River to the base of Fairweather, from which latter place I have returned through Clarence Straits, to sojourn a few days in your beautiful bay, under the shadows of the Baranoff Hills and Mount Edgecombe. Limited, however, as my opportunities have been, I will, without further apology, give you the impressions I have received.

Of course, I speak first of the skies of Alaska. It seems to be assumed in the case of Alaska that a country which extends through fifty-eight degrees of longitude, and embraces portions as well of the arctic as of the temperate zone, unlike all other regions so situated, has not several climates, but only one. The weather of this one broad climate of Alaska is severely criticised in outside circles for being too wet and too cold. Nevertheless, it must be a fastidious person who complains of climates in which, while the eagle delights to soar, the humming-bird does not disdain to flutter. I shall speak only of the particular climate here which I know.

My visit here happens to fall within the month of August. Not only have the skies been sufficiently bright and serene to give me a perfect view, under the sixtieth parallel, of the total eclipse of the sun, and of the evening star at the time of the sun's obscuration, but I have also enjoyed more clear than there have been cloudy days: and in the early mornings and in the late evenings peculiar to the season I have lost myself in admiration of skies adorned with sapphire and gold as richly as those which are reflected by the Mediterranean. Of all the moonlights in the world, commend me to those which light up the archipelago of the North Pacific Ocean. Fogs have sometimes detained me longer on the Hudson and on Long Island Sound than now on the waters of the North Pacific. In saying this, I do not mean to say that rain and fog are unfrequent here. The Russian pilot, George, whom you all know, expressed my conviction on this matter exactly when he said to me, "Oh, yes. Mr. Seward, we *do* have changeable weather here sometimes, as they do in the other States." I might amend the expression by adding the weather here is only a little more changeable. It must be confessed, at least, that it is an honest climate; for it makes no pretensions to constancy. If, however, you have

fewer bright sunrises and glowing sunsets than southern latitudes enjoy, you are favored, on the other hand, with more frequent and more magnificent displays of the aurora and the rainbow. The thermometer tells the whole case when it reports that the summer is colder and the winter is warmer in Alaska than in New York and Washington. It results from the nature of such a climate that the earth prefers to support the fir, the spruce, the pine, the hemlock, and other evergreens rather than deciduous trees, and to furnish grasses and esculent roots rather than the cereals of dryer and hotter climates. I have mingled freely with the multifarious population,—the Tongas, the Stickeens, the Cakes, the Hydahs, the Sitkas, the Kootznoos, and the Chilcats, as well as with the traders, the soldiers, the seamen, and the settlers of various nationalities, English, Swedish, Russian, and American,—and I have seen all around me only persons enjoying robust and exuberant health. Manhood of every race and condition everywhere exhibits activity and energy, while infancy seems exempt from disease, and age relieved from pain.

It is next in order to speak of the rivers and seas of Alaska. The rivers are broad, shallow, and rapid, while the seas are deep, but tranquil. Mr. Sumner, in his elaborate and magnificent oration, although he spake only from historical accounts, has not exaggerated—no man can exaggerate—the marine treasures of the Territory. Besides the whale, which everywhere and at all times is seen enjoying his robust exercise, and the sea-otter, the fur-seal, the hair-seal, and the walrus, found in the waters which embosom the western islands, those waters, as well as the seas of the eastern archipelago, are found teeming with the salmon, cod, and other fishes adapted to the support of human and animal life. Indeed, what I have seen here has almost made me a convert to the theory of some naturalists, that the waters of the globe are filled with stores for the sustenance of animal life surpassing the available productions of the land.

It must be remembered that the coast range of mountains, which begins in Mexico, is continued into the Territory, and invades the seas of Alaska. Hence it is that in the islands and on the mainland, so far as I have explored it, we find ourselves everywhere in the immediate presence of black hills, or foot-hills, as they are variously called, and that these foot-hills are overtopped by ridges of snow-capped mountains. These

snow-capped mountains are manifestly of volcanic origin : and they have been subjected, through an indefinite period, to atmospheric abrasion and disintegration. Hence they have assumed all conceivable shapes and forms. In some places they are serrated into sharp, angular peaks, and in other places they appear architecturally arranged, so as to present cloud-capped castles, towers, domes, and minarets. The mountain sides are furrowed with deep and straight ravines, down which the thawing fields of ice and snow are precipitated, generally in the month of May, with such a vehemence as to have produced in every valley immense level plains of intervale land. These plains, as well as the sides of the mountains, almost to the summits, are covered with forests so dense and dark as to be impenetrable, except to wild beasts and savage hunters. On the lowest intervale land the cottonwood grows. It seems to be the species of poplar which is known in the Atlantic States as the Balm of Gilead, and which is dwarfed on the Rocky Mountains. Here it takes on such large dimensions that the Indian shapes out of a single trunk even his great war canoe, which safely bears over the deepest waters a phalanx of sixty warriors. These imposing trees always appear to rise out of a jungle of elder, alder, crab-apple, and other fruit-bearing shrubs and bushes. The short and slender birch, which, sparsely scattered, marks the verge of vegetation in Labrador, has not yet been reached by the explorers of Alaska. The birch-tree sometimes appears here upon the riverside, upon the level next above the home of the cottonwood, and is generally found a comely and stately tree. The forests of Alaska, however, consist mainly neither of shrubs, nor of the birch, nor of the cottonwood, but, as I have already intimated, of the pine, the cedar, the cypress, the spruce, the fir, the larch, and the hemlock. These forests begin almost at the water's edge, and they rise with regular gradation to a height of two thousand feet. The trees, nowhere dwarfed or diminutive, attain the highest dimensions in sunny exposures in the deeper cañons or gorges of the mountains. The cedar, sometimes called the yellow cedar, and sometimes the fragrant cedar, was long ago imported in China as an ornamental wood ; and it now furnishes the majestic beams and pillars with which the richer and more ambitious native chief delights to construct his rude but spacious hall or palatial residence, and upon which he carves in rude symbolical imagery

the heraldry of his tribe and achievements of his nation. No beam, or pillar, or spar, or mast, or plank is ever required in either the land or the naval architecture of any civilized state greater in length and width than the trees which can be hewn down on the coasts of the islands and rivers here, and conveyed directly thence by navigation. A few gardens, fields, and meadows have been attempted by natives in some of the settlements, and by soldiers at the military posts, with most encouraging results. Nor must we forget that the native grasses, ripening late in a humid climate, preserve their nutritive properties, though exposed, while the climate is so mild that cattle and horses require but slight provision of shelter during the winter.

Such is the island and coast portion of Eastern Alaska. Klakautch, the Chilcat, who is known and feared by the Indians throughout the whole Territory, and who is a very intelligent chief, informs me that beyond the mountain range which intervenes between the Chilcat and the Yukon Rivers you descend into a plain unbroken by hills or mountains, very fertile, in a genial climate, and, as far as he could learn, of boundless extent. We have similar information from those who have traversed the interior from the shore of the Portland canal to the upper branches of the Yukon. We have reason, therefore, to believe that beyond the coast range of mountains in Alaska we shall find an extension of the rich and habitable valley lands of Oregon, Washington Territory, and British Columbia.

After what I have already said, I may excuse myself from expatiating on the animal productions of the forest. The elk and the deer are so plenty as to be undervalued for food or skins, by natives as well as strangers. The bear of many families,—black, grizzly, and cinnamon; the mountain sheep, inestimable for his fleece; the wolf, the fox, the beaver, the otter, the mink, the raccoon, the marten, the ermine; the squirrel,—gray, black, brown, and flying,—are among the land fur-bearing animals. The furs thus found here have been the chief element, for more than a hundred years, of the profitable commerce of the Hudson Bay Company, whose mere possessory privileges seem, even at this late day, too costly to find a ready purchaser. This fur-trade, together with the sea fur-trade within the Territory, were the sole basis alike of Russian commerce and empire on this continent. This commerce was so

large and important as to induce the governments of Russia and China to build and maintain a town for carrying on its exchanges in Tartary on the border of the two empires. It is well understood that the supply of furs in Alaska has not diminished, while the demand for them in China and elsewhere has immensely increased.

I fear that we must confess to a failure of ice as an element of territorial wealth, at least as far as this immediate region is concerned. I find that the Russian American Company, whose monopoly was abolished by the treaty of acquisition, depended for ice exclusively upon the small lake or natural pond which furnishes the power for your saw-mill in this town, and that this dependence has now failed by reason of the increasing mildness of the winter. The California Ice Company are now trying the small lakes of Kodiak, and certainly I wish them success. I think it is not yet ascertained whether glacier ice is pure and practical for commerce. If it is, the world may be supplied from the glaciers, which, suspended from the region of the clouds, stand forth in the majesty of ever-wasting and ever-renewed translucent mountains upon the banks of the Stickeen and Chilcat Rivers and the shores of Cross Sound.

Alaska has been as yet but imperfectly explored: but enough is known to assure us that it possesses treasures of what are called the baser ores equal to those of any other region of the continent. We have Copper Island and Copper River, so named as the places where the natives, before the period of the Russian discovery, had procured the pure metal from which they fabricated instruments of war and legendary shields. In regard to iron the question seems to be not where it can be found, but whether there is any place where it does not exist. Mr. Davidson, of the Coast Survey, invited me to go up to him at the station he had taken up the Chilcat River to make his observations of the eclipse, by writing me that he had discovered an iron mountain there. When I came there, I found that, very properly, he had been studying the heavens so busily that he had but cursorily examined the earth under his feet, that it was not a single iron mountain he had discovered, but a range of hills the very dust of which adheres to the magnet, while the range itself, two thousand feet high, extends along the east bank of the river thirty miles. Limestone and marble crop out on the banks



of the same river and in many other places. Coal-beds, accessible to navigation, are found at Kootznoo. It is said, however, that the concentrated resin which the mineral contains renders it too inflammable to be safely used by steamers. In any case, it would seem calculated to supply the fuel requisite for the manufacture of iron. What seems to be excellent cannel coal is also found in the Prince of Wales Archipelago. There are also mines at Cook's Inlet. Placer and quartz gold mining is pursued under many social disadvantages upon the Stickeen and elsewhere, with a degree of success which, while it does not warrant us in assigning a superiority in that respect to the Territory, does nevertheless warrant us in regarding gold mining as an established and reliable resource.

It would argue inexcusable insensibility if I should fail to speak of the scenery which, in the course of my voyage, has seemed to pass like a varied and magnificent panorama before me. The exhibition did not, indeed, open within the Territory. It broke upon me first when I had passed Cape Flattery and entered the Straits of Fuca, which separate British Columbia from Washington Territory. It widened as I passed along the shore of Puget Sound, expanded in the waters which divide Vancouver from the continent, and finally spread itself out into a magnificent archipelago, stretching through the entire Gulf of Alaska, and closing under the shade of Mounts Fairweather and St. Elias. Nature has furnished to this majestic picture the only suitable border which could be conceived, by lifting the coast range mountains to an exalted height, and clothing them with eternal snows and crystalline glaciers.

It remains only to speak of man and of society in Alaska. Until the present moment the country has been exclusively inhabited and occupied by some thirty or more Indian tribes. I incline to doubt the popular classification of these tribes upon the assumption that they have descended from diverse races. Climate and other circumstances have indeed produced some differences of manners and customs between the Aleuts, the Koloschians, and the interior continental tribes. But all of them are manifestly of Mongol origin. Although they have preserved no common traditions, all alike indulge in tastes, wear a physiognomy, and are imbued with sentiments peculiarly noticed in Japan and China. Savage communities, no less than civilized nations, require space for subsistence.

whether they depend for it upon the land or upon the sea,—in savage communities especially: and increase of population disproportioned to the supplies of the country occupied necessitates subdivision and remote colonization. Oppression and cruelty occur even more frequently among barbarians than among civilized men. Nor are ambition and faction less inherent in the one condition than in the other. From these causes it has happened that the 25,000 Indians in Alaska are found permanently divided into so many insignificant nations. These nations are jealous, ambitious, and violent; could in no case exist long in the same region without mutually affording what, in every case, to each party seems just cause of war. War between savages becomes the private cause of the several families which are afflicted with the loss of their members. Such a war can never be composed until each family which has suffered receives an indemnity in blankets, adjusted according to an imaginary tariff, or, in the failure of such compensation, secures the death of one or more enemies as an atonement for the injury it has sustained. The enemy captured, whether by superior force or strategy, either receives no quarter or submits for himself and his progeny to perpetual slavery. It has thus happened that the Indian tribes of Alaska have never either confederated or formed permanent alliances, and that even at this late day, in the presence of superior power exercised by the United States government, they live in regard to each other in a state of enforced and doubtful truce. It is manifest that, under these circumstances, they must steadily decline in numbers: and, unhappily, this decline is accelerated by their borrowing ruinous vices from the white man. Such as the natives of Alaska are, they are, nevertheless, in a practical sense, the only laborers at present in the Territory. The white man comes amongst them from London, from St. Petersburg, from Boston, from New York, from San Francisco, and from Victoria, not to fish (if we except alone the whale fishery) or to hunt, but simply to buy what fish and what peltries, ice, wood, lumber, and coal the Indians have secured under the superintendence of temporary agents or factors. When we consider how greatly most of the tribes are reduced in numbers and how precarious their vocations are, we shall cease to regard them as indolent or incapable: and, on the contrary, we shall more deeply regret than ever before that a people so gifted by nature, so vigorous and

energetic, and withal so docile and gentle in their intercourse with the white man, can neither be preserved as a distinct social community nor incorporated into our society. The Indian tribes will do here as they seem to have done in Washington Territory and British Columbia: they will merely serve their turn until civilized white men come.

You, the citizens of Sitka, are the pioneers, the advanced guard, of the future population of Alaska: and you naturally ask when, from whence, and how soon re-enforcements shall come, and what are the signs and guarantees of their coming? This question, with all its minute and searching interrogations, has been asked by the pioneers of every State and Territory of which the American Union is now composed: and the history of those States and Territories furnishes the complete, conclusive, and satisfactory answer. Emigrants go to every infant State and Territory in obedience to the great natural law that obliges needy men to seek subsistence, and invites adventurous men to seek fortune where it is most easily obtained: and this is always in the new and uncultivated regions. They go from every State and Territory, and from every foreign nation in America, Europe, and Asia, because no established and populous state or nation can guarantee subsistence and fortune to all who demand them among its inhabitants.

The guarantees and signs of their coming to Alaska are found in the resources of the Territory, which I have attempted to describe, and in the condition of society in other parts of the world. Some men seek other climes for health, and some for pleasure. Alaska invites the former class by a climate singularly salubrious, and the latter class by scenery which surpasses in sublimity that of either the Alps, the Apennines, the Alleghanies, or the Rocky Mountains. Emigrants from our own States, from Europe, and from Asia, will not be slow in finding out that fortunes are to be gained by pursuing here the occupations which have so successfully sustained races of untutored men. Civilization and refinement are making more rapid advances in our day than at any former period. The rising States and nations on this continent, the European nations, and even those of Eastern Asia, have exhausted, or are exhausting, their own forests and mines, and are soon to become largely dependent upon those of the Pacific. The entire region of Oregon, Washington Territory, British Columbia, and Alaska, seem thus destined to become a ship-

yard for the supply of all nations. I do not forget on this occasion that British Columbia belongs within a foreign jurisdiction. That circumstance does not materially affect my calculations. British Columbia, by whomsoever possessed, must be governed in conformity with the interests of her people and of society upon the American continent. If that territory shall be so governed, there will be no ground of complaint anywhere. If it shall be governed so as to conflict with the interests of the inhabitants of that territory and of the United States, we all can easily foresee what will happen in that case. You will ask me, however, for guarantees that the hopes I encourage will not be postponed. I give them.

Within the period of my own recollection, I have seen twenty new States added to the eighteen which before that time constituted the American Union; and I now see, besides Alaska, ten Territories in a forward condition of preparation for entering into the same great political family. I have seen in my own time not only the first electric telegraph, but even the first railroad and the first steamboat invented by man. And even on this present voyage of mine I have fallen in with the first steamboat, still afloat, that thirty-five years ago lighted her fires on the Pacific Ocean. These, citizens of Sitka, are the guarantees, not only that Alaska has a future, but that that future has already begun. I know that you want two things just now, when European monopoly is broken down and United States free trade is being introduced within the Territory: these are military protection while your number is so inferior to that of the Indians around you, and you need also a territorial civil government. Congress has already supplied the first of these wants adequately and effectually. I doubt not that it will supply the other want during the coming winter. It must do this because our political system rejects alike anarchy and executive absolutism. Nor do I doubt that the political society to be constituted here, first as a Territory, and ultimately as a State or many States, will prove a worthy constituency of the Republic. To doubt that it will be intelligent, virtuous, prosperous, and enterprising is to doubt the experience of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Belgium, and of New England and New York. Nor do I doubt that it will be forever true in its republican instincts and loyal to the American Union, for the inhabitants will be both mountaineers and seafaring men. I am not among those who apprehend infidelity

to liberty and the Union in any quarter hereafter; but I am sure that, if constancy and loyalty are to fail anywhere, the failure will not be in the States which approach nearest to the North Pole.

Fellow-citizens, accept once more my thanks, from the heart of my heart, for kindness which can never be forgotten, and suffer me to leave you with a sincere and earnest farewell.

### ALASKA TREATY.

The United States of America and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of strengthening, if possible, the good understanding which exists between them, have, for that purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries: the President of the United States, William H. Seward, Secretary of State; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the privy counsellor Edward de Stoeckl, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

And the said plenipotentiaries, having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due form, have agreed upon and signed the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth, to wit: the eastern limit is the line of demarcation between the Russian and the British possessions in North America, as established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain, of February 28—16, 1825, and described in Articles III. and IV. of said convention, in the following terms:—

“Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 45 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude: from this last-mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean.

“IV. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—

“1st. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia” now by this cession to the United States.

"2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit to the possessions ceded by this convention) shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

The western limit within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained passes through a point in Behring's Straits on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, at its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the islands of Krusenstern, or Ignalook, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same Frozen Ocean. The same western limit, beginning at the same initial point, proceed thence in a course nearly southwest, through Behring's Straits and Behring's Sea, so as to pass midway between the northwest point of the island of St. Lawrence and the southeast point of Cape Choukotski, to the meridian of 172 west longitude: thence, from the intersection of that meridian, in a southwesterly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of that meridian.

ARTICLE II.—In the cession of territory and dominion made by the preceding article are included the right of property in all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private individual property. It is, however, understood and agreed that the churches which have been built in the ceded territory by the Russian government shall remain the property of such members of the Greek Oriental Church resident in the territory as may choose to worship therein. Any government archives, papers, and documents relative to the territory and dominion aforesaid, which may be now existing there, will be left in the possession of the agent of the United States: but an authenticated copy of such of them as may be required will be at all times given by the United States to the Russian government, or to such Russian officers or subjects as they may apply for.

ARTICLE III.—The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice, reserving their natural allegiance, may return to Russia within three years: but, if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may from time to time adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.

ARTICLE IV.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias shall appoint, with convenient despatch, an agent or agents for the purpose of formally delivering to a similar agent or agents appointed on behalf of the United States the territory, dominion, property, dependencies, and appurtenances which are ceded as above, and for doing any other act which may be necessary in regard thereto. But the cession, with the right of immediate possession, is nevertheless to be deemed complete and absolute on the exchange of ratifications, without waiting for such formal delivery.

ARTICLE V.—Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, any fortifications or military posts which may be in the ceded territory shall be delivered to the agent of the United States, and any Russian troops which may be in the territory shall be withdrawn as soon as may be reasonably and conveniently practicable.

ARTICLE VI.—In consideration of the cession aforesaid the United States agree to pay at the treasury in Washington, within ten months after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, to the diplomatic representative or other agent of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, duly authorized to receive the same, seven million two hundred thousand dollars in gold. The cession of territory and dominion herein made is hereby declared to be free and unencumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions, by any associated companies, whether corporate or incorporate, Russian or any other, or by any parties, except merely private individual property-holders; and the cession hereby made conveys all the rights, franchises, and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory or dominion, and appurtenances thereto.

ARTICLE VII.—When this convention shall have been duly ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and on the other by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within three months from the date hereof, or sooner, if possible.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this convention, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington, the 30th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven.

[L. S.]  
[L. S.]

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.  
EDOUARD DE STOECKL.

The purchase of Alaska has often been called Seward's greatest service to his country. A vast territory which Russia acquired by right of discovery and held for considerably more than a century was sold to the United States before hardly a dozen Americans knew that such a proposition was even under consideration. There is a tradition that during Polk's administration something was said to Russia about parting with her possessions in North America. It is

certain that as early as 1859 Senator Gwin and the Assistant Secretary of State discussed the question with Stoeckl, the Russian Minister at Washington, and that as much as five million dollars was offered. The official answer was that this sum was not regarded as adequate, but that Russia would be ready to carry on negotiations as soon as the Minister of Finance could look into the question. There was no occasion for haste: Buchanan soon went out of office: and the subject, which was never known to many persons, seems to have been entirely forgotten for several years.

The interests of a few citizens on the Pacific slope were the main-spring of the little that had been done. For more than a decade San Francisco had annually received a large amount of ice from Russian America, and United States fishermen had been profitably engaged in different parts of the far northern Pacific. Those interests had rapidly increased from year to year. At the beginning of 1866 the legislature of Washington Territory sent a petition to President Johnson, saying that an abundance of codfish, halibut, and salmon had been found along the shores of Russian America, and requesting him to obtain from the Russian government such concessions as would enable American fishing vessels to visit the ports and harbors of that region for the purpose of obtaining fuel, water, and provisions. Sumner says that this was referred to the Secretary of State, who suggested to Stoeckl that some comprehensive arrangement should be made to prevent any difficulties arising between the United States and Russia on account of the fisheries. About this time several Californians wished to obtain a franchise to carry on the fur-trade in Russian America. Senator Cole, of California, urged both Seward and Stoeckl to support the request. Seward instructed Cassius M. Clay, the United States Minister at St. Petersburg, to consult the Russian government on the subject. Clay reported in February, 1867, that there was a prospect of success. In fact, the time happened to be peculiarly opportune for negotiation.

Russian America had never been brought under the regular rule of the imperial government. Since the beginning of the century its few thousand civilized inhabitants had been governed by a great monopoly called the Russian-American Company. Its charter had expired with the year 1861, and had not been renewed; yet a renewal was expected. This monopoly was so unprofitable that it had sought and obtained special privileges, such as the free importation of tea into Russia. It had even sublet some of its privileges to the Hudson Bay Company. This sublease to Englishmen was to expire in June, 1867. By the usual means of communication Russian America was from Russia one of the most distant regions on earth. To organize it as a colony would involve great expense and continuous financial loss. To defend it in time of war with Great Britain or the United States would be an impossibility. When the Crimean war broke out common interest led the Russian-American and the Hudson Bay companies to induce their respective governments to neutralize the Russian and the British possessions on the northwest coast of America. Otherwise Great Britain might easily have seized the Russian Terri-



tory. To the imperial government at the beginning of 1867 the problem resolved itself into these three questions: Shall the charter of the monopoly, with its privileges and unsatisfactory treatment of the inhabitants, be renewed? Shall an expensive colonial system be organized? Shall we sell at a fair price territory that will surely be lost, if it ever becomes populated and valuable? It was foreseen that unless sold to the most constant and grateful of Russia's friends, it was likely to be taken by her strongest and most inveterate enemy. Stoeckl was spending part of the winter of 1866-67 in St. Petersburg, and the different questions were talked over with him, for he had long been Minister to the United States. In February, 1867, as he was about to return to Washington, "the Archduke Constantine, the brother and chief adviser of the Emperor, handed him a map with the lines in our treaty marked upon it, and told him he might treat for this cession."

The following month Stoeckl and Seward began negotiations. One named ten million dollars as a reasonable price; the other offered five millions. Then they took the middle ground—namely, seven million five hundred thousand—as a basis. Seward urged and Stoeckl agreed that the half million should be dropped. The Russian-American Company still claimed privileges and held interests that could not be ignored. Seward saw the objections to assuming any responsibility for matters of this kind; so he offered to add two hundred thousand dollars to the seven millions if Russia would give a title free from all liabilities. On the evening of March 20, 1867, the Russian Minister called at Seward's house and informed him of the receipt of a cablegram reporting the Emperor's consent to the proposition, and then he added that he would be ready to take up the final work the next day, for haste was desirable. With a smile of satisfaction at the news, Seward pushed aside the table where he had been enjoying his usual evening game of whist, and said: "Why wait until to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night." The needed clerks were summoned: the Assistant Secretary went after Sumner, the chairman of the Senate committee on foreign affairs: the Russian Minister sent for his assistants: and at midnight all met at the Department of State. By four o'clock in the morning the task was completed. In a few hours the President sent the treaty to the Senate.—*Life of William H. Seward, by Frederic Bancroft.*

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Two great American names are associated with the purchase of Alaska, Seward and Sumner. Seward, as Secretary of State negotiated with Stoeckl, the Russian minister, the treaty, which was signed March 30, 1867. Sumner, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, was its chief sponsor before the Senate, delivering on April 6, 1867, his speech upon the Cession of Russian America to the United States, which was followed the same day by the vote in favor of ratification. Sumner's speech, which occupies 14 pp. in vol. xi. of his Works, is a most thorough study of the boundaries of Alaska, its early history, the negotiations for the cession, the sources of information upon Russian America, the character and value of the territory, and the general problems involved in the transfer; and it remains the greatest speech upon Alaska, a monument to Sumner's erudition and a permanent magazine of information.

Seward regarded the purchase as of the highest value and significance. "What, Mr.

Seward," asked a friend, "do you consider the most important measure of your political career?" "The purchase of Alaska," he replied; "but it will take the people's generation to find it out." Seward was an ardent expansionist. As early as 1846 he said, "Our population is destined to roll its resistless waves to the icy barriers of the North, and to encounter Oriental civilization on the shores of the Pacific." At St. Paul in 1890 he said:—

"Standing here and looking far off into the northwest, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns and fortifications on the verge of this continent, as the outposts of St. Petersburg; and I can say, 'Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean—they will yet become the outposts of my own country—no monuments of the civilization of the United States in the north-west.' So I look out on Prince Rupert's Land and Canada, and see there an ingenious, enterprising, and ambitious people, occupied with bridging rivers and constructing canals, railroads, and telegraphs to organize and preserve great British provinces north of the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, and around the shores of Hudson Bay, and I am able to say, 'It is very well, you are building excellent States to be hereafter admitted into the American Union.' I can look southwest and see amid all the convulsions that are breaking the Spanish-American republics, and in their rapid decay and dissolution, the preparatory stage for their reorganization as free, equal, and self-governing members of the United States of America."

He believed that the City of Mexico would become ultimately the capital of the United States of America. But he would have expansion only by peaceful means, never by war, which he abhorred. "I would not give one human life for all the continent that remains to be annexed." See Sumner also upon this point in his Alaska speech: "This treaty must not be a precedent for a system of indiscriminate and costly annexation. . . . I cannot disguise my anxiety that every stage in our predestined future shall be by natural processes without war, and I would add even without purchase. There is no territorial aggrandizement which is worth the price of blood. . . . Our triumph should be by growth and organic expansion in obedience to pre-established harmony, recognizing always the will of those who are to become our fellow-citizens."

Two years after the purchase, Mr. Seward visited Alaska, with which his name had become so closely identified that it was often spoken of as "Seward's Arctic Province." The account of his travels in Alaska (1868) may be read in his biography by Henry Bancroft and elsewhere. At Sitka he was called upon to make a public address expressing his impressions of Alaska. This is the address given in the present leaflet, reprinted from Seward's Works, vol. v. The address was clearly intended for the people of the United States in general quite as much as for his particular audience; and it is a memorable picture of Alaska at the time by the principal agent in its purchase.

Seward's Autobiography (1891-34) has been published, supplemented by Memoirs (1831-60) by his son, Frederick W. Seward; and the work on "Seward at Washington," by the same, supplements this. There is a life of Seward in two vols. by Frederic Bancroft. The volume on Seward in the American Statesmen Series is by Thornton K. Lodge. Charles Francis Adams's address on Seward should be read, and the essay by Henry Cabot Lodge in his "Historical and Political Essays."

The general history of Alaska is that by Hubert Howe Bancroft,—vol. xxviii of his History of the Pacific States; chap. 28 gives the account of the treaty and the transfer.

The area of Alaska," says Bancroft, in his graphic introduction, "is greater than that of the thirteen original States of the Union, its extreme length being more than two thousand miles and its extreme breadth about fourteen hundred; while its coast line, including bays and islands, is greater than the circumference of the earth." The price paid for this enormous arctic province was about two cents an acre.

There are many books, historical and descriptive, about Alaska. Among them are William Healy Dall's "Alaska and its Resources" (1870), Henry W. Elliott's "Our Arctic Province" (1886), and the accounts of travel by M. M. Ballou, Henry Martyn Field, L. R. Scidmore, Alfred P. Swinford, and others. See the essay on "Imperial Lessons of Alaska" by David Starr Jordan, in his "Imperial Democracy." The publications concerning Alaska issued by various departments of the government, the Census Office, the Bureau of Education, the Coast Survey, and the Geological Survey, are of great value. One of these, Bulletin No. 187 of the United States Geological Survey, is the Geographic Dictionary of Alaska by Marcus Baker.

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